THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS.
EDITED BY OLIPHANT SMEATON.

Francis and Dominic

By
PROF. J. HERKLESS, D.D.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_T5-CFT-278

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS

EDITED BY

OLIPHANT SMEATON

Francis and Dominic

and The Mendicant Orders

By John Herkless, D.D.

Previous Volumes in this Series:—

CRANMER AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.
By A. D. Innes, M.A.

WESLEY AND METHODISM.
By F. J. Snell, M.A.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION.
By Prof. T. M. Lindsay, D.D.

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM.
By Arthur Lillie, M.A.

WILLIAM HERSCHEL AND HIS WORK.
By James Sime, M.A., F.R.S.E.

For Complete List see End.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS

Francis and Dominic

and

The Mendicant Orders

By

John Herkless, D.D.

Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews

New York. Charles Scribner's Sons

1901

BX 2462
.H4

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	ST. FRANCIS	16
III.	ST. FRANCIS	45
IV.	ST. DOMINIC	81
V.	PROGRESS OF THE ORDERS	111
VI.	THE MENDICANTS AND THE INQUISITION	139
VII.	THE MENDICANTS AND SCHOLASTICISM	163
VIII.	THE DEGRADATION OF THE ORDERS	192
	LITERATURE	227
	INDEX	231

5952

FRANCIS AND DOMINIC

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Medievalism is a record of spiritual, mental, and political slavery; but it is also the fascinating story of the Church's supremacy, of the Crusades with their forlorn hopes and splendid legends, of the piety which raised the Gothic cathedrals, of the universities with their weight of learning, of the friars poor for Christ's sake, of the scholastics justifying the dogma, of the mystics blessed with the vision of God.

One of the charms of Medievalism is that the stage is vast; the chief actors are of epic stature. The emperor, Otto the Great or Frederick Barbarossa, was pre-eminent among the kings of the Western world: the pope, Gregory VII. or Innocent III., was not a prisoner of his palace, but was a rival for the sovereign place in Europe. Around the emperor was the majesty of Rome, while the pope was vested with the sanctity of religion. The centuries, however, were furnishing the Roman pontiff with temporal splendour. In the fourth century Christianity became the recognised

religion of the Roman State, and the first Christian emperor, having built a city on the Bosphorus, made it the centre of his government. Ancient Rome was left to its bishops, who step by step advanced to prominence in Italy. In the eighth century the Roman Church, harassed by the Lombards, called the Franks to its aid; and on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., he who claimed to be the ecclesiastical heir of St. Peter bestowed the imperial crown on the alleged successor of Augustus. Whether the empire of Charlemain was a new creation or was a revival or a continuation of that of Augustus is a constitutional question; but whatever the answer, it remains that the strongest king in the West accepted the symbol of imperial power from the hands of a priest of the Church of Christ.

Charlemain's empire fell to the ground amid the divisions of his sons. In the tenth century Otto the Great united Germany and Italy, and was crowned emperor at Rome. This union, on which the right to the imperial title was based, had more than a political interest. The theory gained general acceptance that the emperor was God's representative in things temporal, as the pope was representative in things spiritual. Frederick Barbarossa, however, in days when Church and State were at strife, used the phrase *Holy* Roman Empire in order to show that his power was not derived from the pope but flowed directly from God. The phrase, too, though Barbarossa had other intention, emphasised the fact that the empire was holy in the sense of being an alliance between Church and State. This alliance, which had its symbol in the imperial coronation by the hands of the Bishop of Rome, was one of equality. Yet who was to mark the limits of

the secular and spiritual, to decree the dominion of emperor and pope? While Otto the Great lived, and throughout the period preceding the power of Hildebrand, the Church was in subjection. It was the ideal of that pope, and he did not altogether fail, to destroy the subjection, to establish the supremacy of the Church over all causes, and to exalt the Bishop of Rome to universal dominion.

It has been told of Hildebrand that in his precocious childhood he played with wood-chips in his father's shop, arranging them as the letters of "dominabor a mari usque ad mare," "I shall have dominion from sea to sea," and that in the famous monastery of Cluny the abbot applied the words to him, as to another John the Baptist, "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord." His dominion was not to stretch from sea to sea, but the policy to which he gave his name was to endure for centuries. Throughout the period of his youth the papacy was not elevated by virtue or graced by piety, and its inheritance was an evil reputation. Among the popes there had been men who purchased the tiara or seized it by force of arms; and there had been others who were deposed, exiled, or murdered. Two women of noble name and infamous repute had placed their lovers in St. Peter's chair; while a boy of twelve and a youth of eighteen had each been vicar of the Apostle. If Charlemain stooped from royal dignity to receive a crown from an ecclesiastic, he was avenged when the Emperor Henry III. cast out the rival popes at Sutri, and forced the Roman priests to accept a bishop from his hands.

In the eyes of Hildebrand, in spite of any theory of the divine right of kings, Henry III. was not com-

missioned to touch the Lord's anointed; and another method, different from imperial coercion, must be found for the purification of the Church. No layman, however exalted, must tamper with spiritual independence. Yet reformation was needed, as Hildebrand saw, who had been trained in the severe morality of the monastery of Cluny. Monkish methods of revival were to hand. As the monk, when keeping the spirit of his vow, had cut himself off from the corrupting control of the things of time, that he might govern his soul to its eternal welfare, so must the Church separate from the world if it would rule mankind. The first thing to be destroyed was simony. The priest who purchased and the layman who sold, they who brought the things of religion into the market-place for traffic, were to be pronounced guilty of sin. And the priest himself, through celibacy, must be kept from the world. If the Church was to be triumphant, its servants must be free from the joys and cares of earth. No priest should have wife and children to divert his love from Christ, capturing his time, and tempting him to seek wealth for their support. The custom, too, of lay investiture must cease. The ring and staff, symbols of initiation into dignified ecclesiastical offices, were bestowed by lay hands, and usually for gold. No theory, however specious, that the practice was simply a feudal arrangement where churchmen held lands, would satisfy Hildebrand. He would not have the ark of the Church touched by a layman's hand, and the custom must cease in order that a gross evil might be removed and spiritual independence be established.

The monastery of Cluny, having set its own house in order, could honestly command and require a general

monastic reformation. Hildebrand went further when he made freedom from the world an ideal for all clerics alike. Cut off from secular interests, they would yield obedience to none but their superiors, and thus the autonomy of the Church would be established. Priests had their bishops, and bishops their supreme pontiff, to instruct and guide them. Asceticism and obedience would bring to pass that kingdom of God which the gospel had promised, and which Augustine, with the unity of Imperial Rome before him, had pictured; and in this kingdom the pope would be the vice-gerent of Christ, in this universal Church His vicar. Let ecclesiastics be freed from the world and the divine kingdom would come, wherein earthly interests would yield to spiritual concerns. The Hildebrandine policy had for its aim the removal of secular control from the Church, in order that it might have liberty and then supremacy; and to secure this end, the asceticism and obedience of clerics were required. With temporary and partial success, but with unrelenting vigour, Hildebrand opposed the simony which everywhere was working harm. In his crusade against clerical marriage he was victor in so far as celibacy was established or renewed as a law, though not till the Reformation did decency become the general custom of priestly life. The strife over investitures was more than a question of spiritual independence: it was the duel between pope and emperor for supremacy. During the youth of the emperor, Henry IV., the German clergy were being brought into obedience to Rome; but reaching manhood, he determined to strike a blow for national freedom. No Italian bishop should rule his clergy, and his own obedience would not be given to Hildebrand. Henry's

stroke was met by a counter-stroke, against which he could not stand: "For the honour and security of the Church, in the name of the Almighty Triune God, I do prohibit Henry, king, son of Henry the emperor, from ruling the kingdom of the Teutons and of Italy, and I release all Christians from the oath of allegiance to him which they have taken, or shall take." The words were a declaration of the right of the Bishop of Rome to dispose of political causes; and for this supremacy all other concerns, even piety itself, were sacrificed. The supremacy was no mere semblance of power. Hadrian IV., the poor scholar who had wandered from England to Rome, trafficked in the islands of the sea, and gave Ireland to Henry II., king of a land where he, Nicholas Brakspere, had been a beggar. Innocent III., receiving the crown of England from John, returned it to him as his vassal. In the century after Francis and Dominic had adopted poverty, Boniface VIII., clothing himself in imperial garments, claimed the title of emperor, as some have it, and, of a truth, ruined the papacy that he might be more than a bishop.

Medieval Church policy meant supremacy in things spiritual and temporal, and for this policy Hildebrand was mainly responsible. In his strife with Henry the stroke and the counter-stroke were followed by the tragic scene of Canossa. Of the great pope it can be said, indeed, that he put down the mighty from his seat. With heavy step Henry climbed to the mountain fortress of Canossa. For three days, standing barefooted on the snow, and clad in a coarse woollen shirt, Henry, son of an emperor, himself the uncrowned Emperor of Rome, sought admission to Hildebrand, the son of a carpenter of Savona. When at last he entered the

presence of the pope, it was to throw himself on the ground, saying: "Spare me, holy father,—spare me." Hildebrand had triumphed, but the day of triumph was short. Christendom was not prepared to accept the rule of a priest. His last words, when he lay dying at Salerno, are well known: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity—therefore I die in exile"; and significant was the reply of one of the cardinals: "Nay, in exile thou canst not die, who as vicar of Christ and His apostles hast received the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession." The reply was indeed significant: it gave voice to the aspiration of the Roman Church.

The Hildebrandine policy, at its best, was an attempt to save the Church from the evils of feudalism, and to secure the domination of religion. Let the Medieval Church be viewed in its place in the midst of an ignorant, enslaved, and unspiritual people, governed by kings and nobles, selfish and cruel, and Hildebrand may be counted an ecclesiastical reformer seeking to remove pollution, and justified as an autocrat who enforced religion.

The kingdom of God did not come through asceticism and obedience. Simony was checked but not stopped. A suspicion has arisen, but it is nothing more, that Hildebrand desired the traffic in livings to pass into the hands of the popes. The celibacy of the clergy, which has roused the wrath of moralists, was not alien to the ethical ideals of the time, and the system gave to the Church an army for religion. The abolition of lay investiture, the freedom of the clergy from the slavery imposed by feudal masters, was the only hope of the unity of the Church. The Hildebrandine policy,

in so far as it meant the spiritual independence of an institution existing for the promotion of religion, was of value, and the methods employed to realise it harmonised with the recognised moral ideas. But it had its worldly side, even in the case of Hildebrand himself, and in the age of Innocent III., and notably of Boniface VIII., that side was prominent. Thus into the Church there came a worldly ideal, a dream of earthly supremacy, a vision of absolute political power, with the pope ruling kings as puppets.

During the reign of Innocent III., in which the Church reached its height of worldly success, Francis and Dominic appeared. It was indeed a comprehensive religion which produced Innocent and Francis, a Catholic Church which included that king of kings and that poorest of beggars who would not have a place of his own whereon to lay his head. From Hildebrand to Innocent the Church had been steadfast, with varied success, in its purpose of supremacy. At the close of the eleventh century the first Crusade was proclaimed, and in the effusion of piety Urban II. was recognised as the head of Christendom, attaining a dignity never awarded to Hildebrand himself. When the enthusiasm for the holy places of the East died away, the Church returned to its strife for power. There was one man, Paschal II., who would have yielded all the Church's possessions, save the patrimony of St. Peter, and would have secured ecclesiastical freedom by rendering to Cæsar the things which Cæsar claimed.

A priestly tumult arose. Paschal, however, was more alarmed by the presence of the German hosts, and accordingly surrendered to Henry V. the right of

investiture, bestowing at the same time the imperial crown. The Church, on the other hand, having entered into possession of a definite policy, would not, in spite of its pope, betray its trust, yielding what its fanaticism cherished as its divine right. Under Calixtus II. its triumph came; and, through stress of anathema and excommunication, Henry agreed to the concordat of Worms, abandoning his title to invest with ecclesiastical symbol, and giving, according to priestly interpretation, to God the things that were God's.

In the middle of the twelfth century the State, in its opposition to the Church, gained a champion in Frederick Barbarossa, great as the king of his people and to be mourned as their military hero. Hadrian IV. was the ardent representative of Hildebrandism, against whom Frederick maintained that the imperial dignity, neither the gift nor the creation of the Church, was in itself divine. For emphasis of this theory he neglected a custom said to have been begun by Constantine the Great, refusing to hold the pope's stirrup, or touching the left instead of the right. It was Frederick's endeavour to establish in Italy a German power which would control the Church, but in his campaign he had to meet more than the strength of the Bishop of Rome. French and English gold secured the opposition of the Roman people; and in the north of Italy the Lombard cities embraced the papal cause, eager to secure their independence from imperial domination. Barbarossa failed, without forfeiture of military renown, since he could not fight against the plague which devastated his army and drove him over the Alps. At Legnano, after an alliance between the pope and the Lombard cities, Frederick was defeated; and later,

at a meeting in Venice, the emperor did not refuse to Pope Alexander III. that courtesy which he had denied to Hadrian.

The empire under Barbarossa could not regain the control over the Church which Otto the Great and Henry III. had exercised, before Hildebrand arose with his cry of spiritual independence; and yet if ever there was a hope of recovering that supremacy, it lived when Frederick Barbarossa reigned. He died in his march to the East as a Crusader, and his Germans promised themselves that he would come again. None worthier came to wear the imperial crown, and none so renowned; but a great pope, Innocent III., was yet to frustrate his policy and to gain that political dominion which was the hope of all the Bishops of Rome.

While the papacy was rising to its height new monastic Orders were founded, which drew the pious out of the ways of the world. The Camaldolese, Vallombrosians, Carthusians, and Cistercians, to take examples, marked a monastic revival. St. Bernard, the most distinguished of the Cistercians, was at once the pious recluse, the popular preacher, and the ruler of the Church. The crusade inaugurated by Urban II. had quickened the religious sentiment of Christendom, as the holy places had called up the image of the suffering Christ. Bernard was strongly affected by this sentiment, and the Crucified became the object of his mystic contemplation. In his monastic life he practised poverty in a fashion to which the older Orders were strangers, but the poverty was joined to the severe routine of the cloister. When he preached, the intensity of his piety touched the hearts of the people; and more than other monk or priest of

the twelfth century he fostered religion. Yet with the cause of religion he identified the cause of the Church, and no disparity was suggested by him between Christ and His reputed representative on the papal throne. He laboured for the Church, silencing Abelard, crushing Arnold of Brescia, and directing Innocent II. These labours, however, did not impede his mission among the people, and his poverty and his piety made him the accepted evangelist of the century before Francis and Dominic.

In the year 1198, Cardinal Lothair ascended the papal throne as Innocent III. The son of an Italian noble of the anti-imperialist party, the nephew of a pope, Lothair rose to the dignity of cardinal at the age of twenty-eight. During a retirement from Rome, when Coelestine III. was pope, he wrote a treatise styled, "Contempt of the World and the Misery of Human Life," displaying a monastic spirit which might have made a saint of him had he not been raised to the high place of dominion. Called to rule, he was ready for a task which required not the enthusiasm of a monk but the wisdom of a statesman. Disorder was rampant in the nations, and the golden opportunity had come for the Church, which had in Innocent its strongest man since Hildebrand. In the empire Innocent played with the rivalry of Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia, and changed German history at his will by placing on the imperial stage the heir of the Hohenstaufen, the future Frederick II. In France Innocent appeared as the guardian of morality and the saviour of the oppressed. Philip Augustus had put away Ingeburga, his Danish wife, in whose conduct there was no cause for a divorce. The French clergy

had granted divorce, and the queen had appealed to Rome. Pope Coelestine had quailed before the haughtiness of Philip, but Innocent was a different man, and in him the French king and clergy alike found a master. The nation was placed under interdict, so that the offices of religion ceased. The king was compelled to send away his beloved Agnes of Meran, and to take back the despised and injured Ingeburga. In England, in the conflict of tyranny and freedom, King John resigned his crown, to receive it back as a vassal of the pope. In the south of France, during the crusade against the heretics, Innocent made his name terrible, displaying stern and unrelenting vigour. The crusade to the East which he inaugurated failed to place Christianity victorious over its Mohammedan foes; but it seated a Latin king and established a Latin Church in Constantinople. Neither kingdom nor church was to endure, yet both continued beyond the limit of his reign and increased the splendour of his rule. The kings of Portugal, Leon, and Aragon each owned his sovereign power, which was extended over Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. Throughout the whole Church the Bishop of Rome was supreme; and Rome itself was now recognised as the court of appeal for the ecclesiastics of all lands.

The day for the assembling of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, was the day of the Church's triumph. Representatives of the emperors of the East and West, Eastern patriarchs, Western bishops, made a cloud of witnesses to the commanding power of Innocent, and to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. When Innocent first ascended the papal throne these words

were used in the inauguration sermon: "Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over His people; no other than the vice-gerent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man: below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none; for it is written, *I will judge.* But he whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts is lowered by his office of a servant, that so humility may be exalted and pride abased; for God is against the high-minded, and to the lowly He shows mercy; and he who exalteth himself shall be abased." The pope thus introduced did not scruple to change the text of the Vulgate in order to gain a biblical sanction for his official power over life and death. He taught, too, with Hildebrand, that the royal dignity is to the papal as the moon to the sun, from which it gets its light; and he also used the simile of the body and the soul. It was he who claimed possession of the two swords, symbols of civil and ecclesiastical power; and from his reign till the present the pope has been styled the vicar of Christ, not simply the vicar of St. Peter. At the Lateran Council, addressing the multitude of clerics, the pope took for his own use the words, "With desire I have desired to eat this pass-over with you before I suffer." It seemed as if he felt that his own end was near, or knew that the day of the Church's triumph would soon be spent. But that day might well have appeared to others the noon-time of a glory that would never pass. Rome was the centre of the Church: its bishop the head of Christendom, the lord of kings, the master of peoples.

Rome had conquered, yet the victory was gained at

the expense of religion, as the innumerable sectaries showed who sought guidance beyond the Church, and listened to a gospel no priest would proclaim. Heresy was rampant, because the Church had turned from Christ to the world, and her servants had not gone forth into the highways and byways of Christendom, to teach the people the orthodox creed and to lead them into truth. Innocent himself was not ignorant of the perversion of the Church, and when the mendicants appeared and offered, though they were not all priests, to instruct the people in the knowledge of the Bible and the doctrines of theology, he did not seek to crush them, but retained them as obedient servants. Thus it happened that when religion was impotent in the hearts of the people, the friars arose and stirred it into life and strength; and when the Church was a worldly institution and her priests had departed from the spirit of Christ, these friars devoted themselves to the missionary labour to which He had consecrated Himself. Their ideal was noble, their aim the loftiest, while yet they retained the zeal and piety of their founders; but ere many years had passed after their recognition as Orders, the Church succeeded in binding them to her own worldly uses. Rome profited by their foundation. Her dominion over the ecclesiastics of any land might perish through the combination of a national clergy; but such a combination, she saw, was little likely to be formed if the mendicants who had broken worldly ties acted as her emissaries. Her political power might suffer with the death of the great pope to whom the earth seemed given for a possession; but it might be saved if the mendicants, wandering in all countries, preached the gospel of

papal supremacy Many were the offices of the friars. They spread throughout the world, filling the seats of learning, attaining ecclesiastical pre-eminence, serving as directors of kings, acting as instructors of the people; now reviving religion, now quickening church life, and preserving for Rome a semblance at least of that power which Hildebrand had sought and Innocent wielded, retaining for her a fragment of that domain which the one had seen in vision and the other had beheld extending from sea to sea.

CHAPTER II

St Francis

In the year 1182—the exact date is uncertain—a child was born who was to be known as St. Francis of Assisi. The father of the boy was Pietro Bernardone, a prosperous cloth merchant. Little has been learned of the mother, Pica, who bore her son while her husband was absent on one of his commercial travels; but the association of Francis in early manhood with the young nobles of Assisi, his knowledge of French, and his saintly character and purpose, suggestive at least of the customs and ideals of the Poor Men of Lyons, have made the assertion plausible, that she was of a noble family of Provence. The scenery, climate, and vegetation of Umbria, in which Assisi lies, were at once grand and charming influences which touched the youth and manhood of the poet saint. At his baptism the child received the name of John, which the father afterwards changed to Francis, very likely through fondness for France, to which his business often led him. According to another version, the name was given because of the facility with which the boy acquired the French tongue; while another theory has it that the man of business intended a compliment to his French wife. All through his life that tongue was dear to Francis by its poetic associations, as it was the

language of the Troubadours, whose songs enchanted his youth and lingered in his memory. Tradition has not failed to tell of miracles surrounding the infancy of the boy, in order to mark a likeness to the fabled childhood of Christ. Francis received the education given to children of rich parents, and, meagre though it was, it secured for him a knowledge of Latin sufficient to make him understand the ritual of the Church, and love its hymns, which he was wont to sing by the wayside. When the school education was finished he joined his father in business, and came into contact with the merchants who sold and the poor who bought. At the same time, in spite of trade, the youth was received by the sons of the nobles of the place, who were willing to have a companion with the money which the ambition of Pietro Bernardone supplied. Thus Francis led the life of a trader and of a young man of fashion, of fashion embracing prodigality and perhaps licentiousness, yet saved from coarseness and vulgarity by the leaven of the Troubadours, who were then making for refinement in Italy. Companies of youths would band together to sing the light Provençal songs and to follow the gay practices of the Troubadours, and occasionally Francis, with his sweet and flexible voice, was a chosen leader. The songs, however, were not always light, but sometimes were touched by piety or inspired by the noble deeds of heroes. His education in the school of the Troubadours, more than the education of the Church's school, prepared him for the wandering life of poverty in which his love to Christ had a lyric sweetness and his actions for men had often the character of romance.

Associated with nobles though he was, Francis took

the popular side in a contest of the people against the aristocrats. He was no mere man of fashion afraid of the sword; no mere hanger-on to men of rich degree, prepared through right and wrong ever to defend their cause. He was ready to use the sword, and used it in a war between Perugia and his own city when Assisi joined in the struggle for freedom from German rule. Taken captive, he was led to Perugia, where he was confined for a year in a prison, the site of which is now occupied by the palace of the Capitano del Popolo. In that prison pious forces may have worked in his soul, yet on his return to Assisi he pursued his old ways, till struck down by illness. On his recovery he arranged to go with a certain knight of Assisi who was setting forth to fight, along with Walter of Brienne, on the pope's side against the imperialists. Military life, not alien to a character inspired by the better and heroic verses of the Troubadours, was now his ideal. Preparations were made in magnificent style, and he marched forth in pomp. At Spoleto, however, he was struck down with fever, and his career as a soldier was ended. Returning home he changed his manner of life. In vain his friends sought to win him back to their pleasures. One day, taunted as a youth in love, he declared: "I am thinking of taking a wife more beautiful, more rich, more pure than you could ever imagine." This, some affirm, was religion; others more truly say that it was the Lady Poverty whom his sentimental imagination so styled, and whom Dante has wedded to his name. The chevalier must have a lady for his devotion; and Francis, who had not cut himself off from all his former fancies, was to take Poverty as the lady of his heart. His love of poverty was not,

however, at once made known; and if this story of his taking a wife is true, it may be accepted that neither sudden impulse nor unexpected revelation, but calm deliberation, led him to the mendicant life.

Thus Dante sang of him—

> "For he, a youth, his father's wrath did dare
> For maid, for whom not one of all the crowd,
> As she were death, would pleasure's gates unbar.
> And then before court spiritual he vowed,
> *Et coram patre*—marriage-pledge to her,
> And day by day more fervent love he showed.
> Of her first spouse bereaved, a thousand were,
> And more, the years she lived, despised, obscure,
> And till he came, none did his suit prefer.
> . . . . . .
> But lest I tell it too obscurely so,
> By these two lovers, in my speech diffuse,
> Thou Poverty and Francis now may'st know."

Giotto, in a fresco in Assisi, has shown Francis placing the ring on the finger of his bride, who, though crowned with roses, is dressed in poor garments, and has her feet bruised with stones and torn with briars.

After the illness at Spoleto, and the retiral from military service, the religious conversion of Francis was in progress. What was the influence of these events on his character cannot be told, as the history of his conversion can be but dimly traced. He went to Rome, and was disappointed. The faithful gave but little, even at the shrine of the apostles. He himself would be splendid in his charity, as he had been in his gaiety, and he emptied his purse as a pious gift to St. Peter. In the papal city he saw a multitude of beggars, and the sight suggested an experiment. From one of them he borrowed his rags, lending him his own

garments, and stood for a day as a mendicant, that he might enter into the secret of poverty. Experience was not slow to help him in his pious progress. One day he met a leper, and in repulsion turned away. But seized by remorse, he hastened to kiss the loathsome hand and pour out his money. Legend has touched this story. The leper vanished, and then Francis, like Sir Launfal in "The Vision," knew that he had ministered unto Christ.

> "And the voice that was calmer than silence said,
> 'Lo, it is I, be not afraid.'"

Soon afterwards Francis entered a leper home as a visitor, to carry sympathy to the victims of disease whom society had banished from its midst. He would discipline himself to the hardest duty, and it was no easy task to which he gave himself. "The excellent reader," says Heine, "does not require to be told how terrible a complaint was leprosy in the Middle Ages, and how the poor wretches who had this incurable plague were banished from society, and had to keep at a distance from any human being. Like living corpses, in a grey gown reaching down to the feet, and with the hood brought over their face, they went about, carrying in their hands an enormous rattle, called Saint Lazarus's rattle. With this rattle they gave notice of their approach, that every one might have time to get out of their way."

Leprosy had spread in Italy and other countries of the West, especially after the return of the Crusaders. Medical science was powerless, and the afflicted were ostracised, and too often there was no one to tend their bodies and none to heed their souls. Francis, following

Christ, required no other example to draw him to the lepers, though he may have heard that the Poor Men of Lyons had not forgotten them. His humanity inspired him to seek the outcasts, and his piety traced in them the divine image, their foul disease notwithstanding. In his Testament he declared when dying: "When I was in the bondage of sin it was bitter to me and loathsome to see and look upon persons infected with leprosy, but that blessed Lord brought me among them, and I did mercy with them; and when I departed from them, what seemed bitter and loathsome was turned and changed to me into great sweetness and comfort both of body and soul." According to the Speculum Vitæ, it was ordained "that the friars of his Order, dispersed in various parts of the world, should for the love of Christ diligently attend the lepers wherever they could be found"; and these friars, urging sanitation, and exhibiting medical skill, helped to remove the curse from Europe. One of his first acts, after his adoption of poverty as the way of life, was to visit the leper house to which he had gone when his apparel was rich. Now he went in poverty. He tended the lepers for a time, and rejoiced that he had found something to do for Christ's sake.

The crisis of his religious conversion was reached, according to one story, on a day when he was praying before a crucifix in the poor Church of St. Damian. The Christ of the cross seemed to be alive and to say that He accepted the service offered in his prayer: "Be found of me, Lord, so that in all things I may act only in accordance with Thy holy will." Difficulties now arose with his father, but he desired to leave all and follow Christ in poverty, humility, and love.

Stripped of all his possessions, for he had given back to his angry father even his very clothes, he went out into the world with nothing but old garments which had been given him in charity. This was the turning point of his life: thus did he answer the call of Christ. He entered into no cloister, but went out into the world for Christ's sake, and was as poor as He was. Poverty did not disconcert him: it was the badge of his service, and as he walked on the roads round Assisi he sang as one who served in joy.

His first refuge was with the priest of St. Damian. Legend tells that as he prayed in the church a voice said, "Go repair my house which is falling into ruin," and that he took the words as a command to restore the ruined chapel in which he knelt, heedless of the great Catholic Church then sinking into spiritual desolation. Obedient to his heavenly vision, he set about the work of repair. He had some skill in building, but having no materials he begged for stones for the pious labour. At the same time he had nothing to eat, and he asked for bread. The broken bread which he received was his sacrament of poverty. Other ruined churches demanded his attention, and on one of those he laboured, the Church of Santa Maria of the Portiuncula, which, under the name of Santa Maria degli Angeli, became the cradle of Franciscanism.

The legend of this church is extremely fanciful. Originally known as the Church of S. Maria di Josaphat, it was founded by four pilgrims from Jerusalem who carried with them a fragment of the tomb of the Virgin in the valley of Jehosaphat, and a part of one of her garments. In 516 it was rebuilt by St. Benedict, who changed its name to Portiuncula, and

afterwards to S. Maria degli Angeli, as angels came and sang in it. Another legend tells how the name Portiuncula was given to an indulgence famous in the Catholic Church. One night Francis learned by revelation that Christ and the Virgin waited him in this church. Christ told him that He would grant a boon for the salvation of men, and the request was thereupon made that those who entered the Portiuncula should obtain pardon for all sins confessed to a priest, and for which penance had been done. At the intercession of the Virgin, Christ consented, with the provision that the pope should signify agreement. Pope Honorius, after making certain modifications, notably the restriction of it to one day, lest the indulgences for the Holy Land should be injured, gave his consent; and the indulgence was afterwards extended to other churches. Thus did Francis with his consecration to poverty become the agent, according to this legend, through whom a valuable revenue was secured for his Order. The first biographers of the saint are silent regarding this episode, and the Bollandists speak of it with caution. In recent years, however, attention has been paid to a writing of a Frenchman, Jacques de Vitry, who, being in Perugia when Innocent III. died, described the election of Honorius III., a simple and benevolent man who had bestowed almost all his goods on the poor. Saddened by the worldliness of the papal Court, the Frenchman found comfort in beholding the Friars Minor, whom the pope and cardinals treated with respect. From the character of Honorius and Francis it is not unreasonable to believe that they arranged an indulgence unburdened with a condition of alms. The saint, finding in the pope a

man after his own heart, and desiring to give penitents an outward sign of divine forgiveness, may have obtained from him the sanction of an indulgence for which no price was to be paid. Attention, even to the present day, is directed to the question of Francis' share in obtaining this indulgence, and controversy has arisen. The tendency, however, is to accept the statements, made in certain documents of the latter part of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, that the indulgence was established at the request of Francis.

Nothing in the conduct of Francis pointed as yet to missionary enterprise, or to the foundation of a Brotherhood or Order. In Portiuncula, however, he was to receive the call to his missionary labour, and it came to him as if directly from the lips of Christ Himself. One day, it was the year 1209, he heard the priest at mass reading, but it was Christ who seemed to say that he should go and preach, healing the sick, cleansing the lepers, raising the dead, and casting out devils, and that he should provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass, nor scrip, nor shoes, nor staves. This was the formal commission for Francis for his labour and his poverty; and when he received it he cast aside staff and shoes and began to preach, or rather to speak to the people words of religion. For two years he had been preparing for his mission by renunciation of the things of the world, and he who had left all to follow Christ had a right to ask others to go with him. Francis entered upon his mission not as a novice in piety, but as one having authority.

True to his ideal, Francis adopted as his dress the brown woollen gown, tied with a rope, which the

poorest men of the district wore, and he walked barefooted. Eccleston tells of one of the friars in England, that without permission he put on sandals to go to matins. He dreamt that he was taken by robbers, who cried, "Kill him! kill him!" "But I am a friar," was the plea. "Thou liest," said the robbers, "for thou art not barefooted." In another of the English Chronicles it is related that one Christmas time two of the friars, returning from a chapter at Oxford, sang as they "picked their way along the rugged path over the frozen mud and rigid snow, whilst the blood lay in the track of their naked feet, without their being conscious of it." Dante gives us a picture showing how the Brothers walked—

> "Silent, alone, with no companions near,
> We journeyed, one before and one behind,
> (So Minor Friars when they walk appear)."

One by one converts were made who joined Francis as brothers in poverty. He wished, however, to found no Order. He simply desired men to follow the life of Christ in its humility, and he preached Christ and Him crucified to the world. A notable convert was made when Bernardo di Quintavalle, a rich man of Assisi, distributed his wealth among the poor. His story is told in the *Little Flowers*. Touched by the patience of Francis, he invited him to sup and lodge with him, and he set himself to observe his sanctity. Assured of that sanctity, he resolved to renounce the world, and made known his purpose. "Bernard," was the reply, "this that thou sayest is a task so great and difficult that therefore must we seek counsel of our Lord Jesus Christ." Together they went to the

bishop's house, where there was a good priest, who at the bidding of Francis made the sign of the cross, and opened the missal thrice in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. At the first opening appeared the words: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor and follow me"; at the second, these: "Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money"; and at the third: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." Then Bernard went and sold all his possessions and gave the price to the poor. Among other converts was one who resigned a canonry in the cathedral; and when these men numbered seven, or twelve, according to the *Little Flowers*, Francis sent them forth two by two to preach the gospel, that he might imitate the action of Christ.

A Brotherhood or association had been formed, not an Order in the strict sense, and some Rule must be formulated or adopted. The words which had been accepted by Francis as a commission would serve as the basis of a Rule for the Brothers. Reading them aloud, he said: "Brothers, this is the life and the rule for us, and for all who may desire to join us. Go and do as you have heard." Portiuncula, which had been granted for their use, was the centre from which the new preachers went forth on their mission, and yet it was hardly a centre, as there was no house attached to the church to shelter them as a home. They possessed nothing, neither as individuals nor as a Brotherhood, and like children careless of the day wandered about, now singing in their joy, now teaching or preaching. A day's work would be wrought, and when no man

gave them work they would beg and not be ashamed. Penitents of Assisi they called themselves; sometimes, Joculatores Domini, God's Jongleurs. With them divine science and the gay science were akin. The Brotherhood increased to twelve, says one tradition, the number of the disciples, and then it was determined that the Rule should be written out and submitted to the pope. That Rule has not been preserved, though attempts have been made from various writings to piece it together.

Francis, with certain brethren, set out for Rome to present the Rule to Innocent. The story, as told by Bonaventura, is that Innocent, walking on the terrace of the Lateran, saw the preachers, who seemed to be poor peasants, approach to kneel at his feet, and despising their rags bade them depart. The sovereign of the kings of the earth could have no fellowship with beggars. But at night the pope dreamed that a palm sprouted between his feet, reaching to a great height; and when he awoke he connected his vision with the poor men, as a prophecy of their future distinction. Another version is that Innocent beheld the great Church of St. John Lateran falling to the ground, and that suddenly it was supported by the beggar whom he had in the daytime actually spurned from him. This dream, we are told, was repeated when Dominic presented himself to the pope. A later legend has it that Francis, in the papal presence, related a parable, how a king had sons by a poor woman, whom he afterwards recognised as his children. This parable could not have been told by Francis, since it represented the clergy as the illegitimate sons of the pope. The meeting of Francis and Innocent has dramatic and historic significance, and there is little wonder that Giotto set it forth in one

of his famous frescoes. The painter has represented Innocent, seated on the throne, turning wondering eyes on the strangers, who are craving permission to live after the humility and poverty of Christ.

In Rome Francis unexpectedly met the Bishop of Assisi, who, favouring his cause, commended him to the Cardinal Giovanni di San Paolo. The cardinal in turn, after much talk with Francis, introduced him to the pope, saying, in the words of the legend: "I have found a most perfect man, who desires to live according to the holy gospel, and in all things to observe evangelical perfection; by whom, I believe, the Lord purposes to reform the faith of the Holy Church throughout all the world." Whatever the details of the Rule were, as presented to Innocent, they were in substance the precepts of Christ, adopted in Portiuncula for the guidance of the Brotherhood. The pope, however, was too grave in experience to be captured by mere enthusiasm, and while probably satisfied with the sincerity of the Penitents of Assisi, he neither condemned nor accepted the Rule. No new Order was created, but the pope, leaving the mission of the Brothers to justify itself, required them to choose a superior. One man, and one only, could guide the Penitents, and Francis became the first superior, though, according to another story, they had, before reaching Rome, elevated Brother Bernard to be to them as a vicar of Christ's. The interview with Innocent was over, and ere they departed for Umbria they received the tonsure, which transformed them into clerics. The Waldenses had refused the tonsure, and so were rejected as heretics. The Penitents of Assisi did not commit the blunder of separating from the Church.

Innocent III. hesitated to sanction the organisation which Francis had intentionally or unintentionally formed. In the Lateran Council of 1215 it was determined, since there was danger to the unity of the Church, that no new Orders should be instituted; and probably this policy was finding favour even as early as the year 1210, as Wadding has it, when Francis presented himself at Rome.

Coelestine III. in 1196 sanctioned the foundation of an Order by Joachim of Flora, the mystic whose writings were to influence the history of the Franciscans. Joachim, a son of noble parents, left his home in order to visit the holy places of the East. In Constantinople he was touched by the spectacle of the horrors of a plague, and, having dismissed his servants, proceeded on his way as a pilgrim. Visions revealed to him mysteries of religion. When he returned to the West he became a Cistercian, but not satisfied with the severities of his monkish life, he founded a new Order, in which extreme poverty was to be practised.

Innocent himself welcomed back to the fold of the Church Durand of Huesca, who separated from the Waldenses that he might found an Order of mendicants within the Church. That Order, the Poor Catholics they were styled, included priests who desired by preaching to convert heretics, and laymen who through poverty sought to restore apostolic simplicity. Having approved the action of the Poor Catholics, Innocent, none the less, kept back his sanction from the Penitents of Assisi. It is not probable that he hesitated to recognise the preaching of laymen, which could have been controlled: it is more likely that he doubted the value

of aggressive poverty, while understanding the worth of fanaticism. He might well judge the profession of absolute poverty too extreme for the individual and for the Order, and too extravagant to attract, even though he himself had written the "Contempt of the World and the Misery of Human Life." Innocent was not guilty of avarice, was not a worldling destitute of spiritual interests, who had intrigued to become pope or had been chosen by admirers of craft and cunning. His letters show him to have been aware of the degradation of the Church through simony, and to have been a friend of the poor, eager that they should get justice. With all this he may have hesitated to sanction an Order which would make a contrast between its members and the clergy; and which, by appeal to Scripture, would oppose the poverty and lowliness of Christ to the riches and pomp of His vicar.

Innocent was engaged in the great ecclesiastical movement inspired by Hildebrand, and in securing the supremacy of the Church had no leisure, it must be said, to direct the religious life of Christendom. Hildebrand, true to the reforming spirit of the age, and with a lofty conception of the function of the Church, desired the secular clergy to practise monkish asceticism; but in seeking ecclesiastical liberty he secularised the Church, and the road to supremacy was the road to degradation. A vicar of St. Peter without pomp or style could not be the superior of an emperor, and the striving for worldly splendour infested the clergy, who, forgetting asceticism, sought elevation along with the supreme pontiff. In the age of Hildebrand the Patarines in Italy, themselves practising monkish severities, had

inveighed against the clergy for worldliness, and had contrasted them with their own preachers, who walked in lowliness and poverty. In the twelfth century Arnold of Brescia was the most noted of those who set up poverty as the rule for all Christ's people. His preaching was construed as an unholy attack on a divine organisation, and the ecclesiastical revolutionist, obnoxious to Hadrian IV., as also to Frederick Barbarossa for his republicanism, was done to death, the victim of a pope's tyranny and an emperor's petty wrath. His keenest opponent was Bernard of Clairvaux, who was a monk for his own salvation, and the upholder of the Church for the welfare of the people. Yet Bernard, too religious not to be vexed by worldliness, exclaimed: Do not the "ambitiosi, avari, simonaici, sacrilegi, concubinarii, incestuari," flock from all the earth to Rome that they may obtain or retain ecclesiastical honours? Again he cried: "Who will give me before I die to see the Church as it was in the ancient days, when the apostles cast their nets to catch souls, not silver and gold?" Still stronger were his words: "It is no longer true that the priests are as bad as the people; for the priests are worse than the people." One and all, the pious condemned the wealth of Rome and the sordid greed of the bishops and clergy; and certainly the progress of the heretics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was helped by their attacks on clerical pride and avarice. Sectarians, like the *Apostolici*, by contrast of their own practices, held up to scorn the priest who, ministering at the altar of Christ, did no other duty in His service. Waldo sold his goods that he might give to the needy, and the first Waldenses were styled the Poor Men of Lyons. The

pious within and the heretics outside the Church condemned that worldliness which was destroying its power, and which Innocent could not remove.

It is not known from what source Francis received his impulse to poverty, and very likely to no particular sect or Order did he owe his inspiration. He had not lived, however, as a hermit, and must have been aware of the various attempts to bring back the Church to apostolic simplicity. There is the theory that his mother belonged to the Waldenses, and instructed him in the principles of her sect. Whatever the origin of his inspiration, Francis put himself in emphatic contrast with the ordinary priest; and in this poverty adopted for Christ's sake, and honourably practised, there is one important factor of the success which crowned Franciscanism at its beginning.

After the interview with Innocent, Francis and the Brothers turned once more to Assisi, near which, at Rivo Torto, they proceeded to occupy a ruined cottage. In the caves and grottos of the district they would spend hours and even days of contemplation. They may have been tempted to that life of contemplation which fascinated seekers for God; but they resisted the charm, that they might preach to sinners and carry glad tidings to the poor. In one of the *Little Flowers* it is related that Brother Masseo was sent to Sister Clare and Brother Silvester to pray to God to show whether Francis should give himself to preaching or wholly unto prayer; and the divine answer was, that he should go throughout the world preaching, since he had been chosen not for himself alone, but also for the salvation of others.

Rome had not rejected the Penitents, and now the churches were offered for their preaching. Francis did

not despise the courtesy of the clergy, but as a child of nature he loved the open air, and crowds gathered to him in places where there was no shelter of consecrated roof. And his style of teaching, in its freedom from conventionality, suited the open, since from first to last his sermons had nothing of the dialectic of the schools, and nothing of the hard dogma of the Church. They were the appeals, touched no doubt by the superstitions of the age, of a pious, earnest, loving soul to men to follow the Christ, to live through righteousness to the service of God.

In Assisi, Francis became the helper of the oppressed, demanding certain privileges from the Majores for the Minores, and reconciling for a time the rich and poor. To emphasise the humility of the Brothers, and to bring them nearer to the Minores, as they were styled, he ordained that they should be known as Brothers Minor. In the Rule, according to Thomas of Celano, was the phrase "Et sunt Minores." Francis found a name in *Minores*, and an ideal in the name.

The cottage at Rivo Torto, which had once been occupied by lepers, was not the property of the Minorites, and others were free to use it. One day a rude peasant took up his abode, and the Penitents moved out, exercising, as they hoped, humility and love. A chapel was now needed for their worship, and they obtained the Benedictine Chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli, around which they built huts, forming what may be called the first Franciscan convent. That convent, even in its simplicity, was not to be a possession, not to be a permanent abode: it was to be but a centre from which to go out on missions, and to which to return. It was probably in imitation

of Christ and His disciples that the Brothers, as is recorded, asked of Francis a form of prayer. In addition to the Lord's prayer he gave them this: "We adore Thee, O Christ, in all Thy churches which are in all the world, and we bless Thee because Thou hast by Thy holy cross redeemed the world." The ritual of the Brothers was to be simple. The missions continued; evangelisation was to be the chief labour of the Minorites. From place to place they moved in Umbria, singing in joy as they went. By Francis' express command, and after his own example, they were to be poor, possessing no property and accepting no money either for service or charity; and they were to beg when they could not earn their bread. Work they must, though not in fixed employment. "I desire that all my brethren should labour," Francis is reported to have said, "at useful occupations, that we may be less of a burden to the people, and also that we may be less subject to maladies of the heart and tongue, and may not be tempted to evil thoughts or evil speaking." When work failed, the Brothers were not to be ashamed to beg. Christ Himself had said that the labourer is worthy of his hire. Brother Egidius, one of the paladins of his round table, Francis called him, carried water in Brindisi, made baskets at Ancona, sold wood in Rome. The first Minorites were not idlers, causing offence in the name of religion. They laboured, when they could, for bread, and were not ashamed, when hungry, to beg for it as the wages of spiritual service. But they were not to accept money, to touch that which had destroyed the uses of the Church. They were to be poor that they might follow Christ, that they might be cut off from

the temptations of the world, and that they might be one with the humblest on earth. If they had anything, they were to bestow it willingly on the needy. Francis himself once gave a beggar the mantle worn above his gown. He himself had but the loan of it, he declared. "Your life," said the Bishop of Assisi to Francis, "without any goods in the world seems to me most hard and terrible." "My lord," answered Francis, "if we had possessions we should need arms to protect them." Bonaventura, describing his predecessors in the Order, wrote: "Because they possessed nothing earthly, loved nothing earthly, and feared to lose nothing earthly, they were secure in all places; troubled by no fears, distracted by no cares, they lived without trouble of mind, waiting without solicitude for the coming day or the night's lodging."

Bonaventura himself, in 1273, after he had been for seventeen years the head of the Franciscan Order, was elected a cardinal. When the messengers arrived to tell him of the election, they found him washing the dishes just used at one of the convent meals. He would not see them till his task was finished; and till he was ready to receive it, so runs the story, the cardinal's hat was hung on the branch of a tree.

Into his love of poverty Francis wove the grace of charity. The Brothers, though they were to be unlike the secular clergy, were to be courteous, saluting them by kissing their hands. Nor were the rich to be despised. "There are men," he said, "who to-day appear to us to be members of the devil, who one day shall be members of Christ." The same courtesy is

enjoined in the Rule, where it prescribes the ways of poverty: "And all the Brothers are to be clad in mean habits, and may blessedly mend them with sacks and other pieces; whom I admonish and exhort, that they do not despise or censure such men as they see clad in curious and gay garments, and using delicate meats and drinks, but rather let every one judge and despise himself."

At the Lateran Council of 1215, when Innocent sat on the papal throne as on the seat of the empire of the world, the case of the Minorites was considered. The pope, desiring them to join themselves to an existing Order, as Dominic and his companions were to associate with the Augustinians, once more refused a formal sanction of their Rule. The papal advice did not, however, commend itself to Francis, and remembering the corruption of the Monastic Orders, he would not agree. Innocent died before this dispute was settled, but the papal policy was continued by the Cardinal Ugolini, the future Gregory IX. The cardinal, John of St. Paul, who had befriended Francis died, and Ugolini came forward to offer protection not to be despised, since there were members of the Roman Curia strongly opposed to the Minorites. Ugolini was interested, indeed, in the Brothers and their work, but he was determined they should not depart too far from the ways of the Church.

In the year 1219, some say 1217, the Franciscan mission was organised by the institution of provinces in various countries, and the appointment of provincial superiors. Jacques de Vitry, in his journal of events of 1216, shows the wide extent of the mission in that year. "The men of this Order," he relates, "assemble,

not without great profit, once every year, in a place prearranged, to rejoice in the Lord and to eat together; then, with the counsel of good men, they adopt pious resolutions, approved by the pope. After that they disperse for the remainder of the year through Lombardy and Tuscany, and even to Apulia and Sicily." The Brotherhood increased by the incoming of all sorts of men, rich and poor, scholars and peasants. Three robbers, who were murderers, are mentioned. With the increase the area of the mission widened, and men were sent forth, some of whom were to win the distinction of martyrdom. Brother Elias proceeded to Syria; and Francis himself attempted, though he failed, to reach the East, that he might proclaim the gospel to the followers of Mahomet. He failed, too, when his zeal would have carried him to Morocco to convert the Sultan, and there is a report of his mission to Spain to preach to the Moors.

The purpose for which the mission was organised is set forth in these words, supposed to be addressed by the saint to Cardinal Ugolini: "Do you think that God raised up the Brothers for the sake of this country alone? Verily, I say unto you, God has raised them up for the awakening and the salvation of all men, and they shall win souls not only in the countries of those who believe, but also in the very midst of the infidels."

In 1219 Francis, once more determining to visit the infidels, as they were styled, proceeded to Damietta, where the Christian forces were gathering in one of the Crusades. The determination showed zeal but not wisdom in the man who thought that the gospel, if

preached in purity, would prove acceptable to all people. One story has it that he sought in pious pilgrimage the places sanctified by the feet of Christ. According to another, after preaching to the soldiers in the Christian army, he passed to the Mohammedans, and was taken to the presence of the Sultan Kamel. In the version of Jacques de Vitry, who was with the Crusaders, the Sultan received Francis with courtesy, doubtless taking his enthusiasm for madness, and after hearing him on several occasions, sent him back to his friends, saying at parting: "Pray for me, that God may enlighten me, and enable me to hold firmly to that religion which is most pleasing to Him."

Bonaventura describes the visit as paid to the Sultan of Babylon, who asked Francis to abide with him for a time. Francis agreed to remain, provided the king and the people embraced Christianity; but, if this could not be, he desired that he and some of the Mohammedan priests should enter a fire, in order to try which was the true religion. The Sultan declared that none of his priests would willingly engage in such a contest, whereupon Francis, anxious to secure victory, offered to enter the fire, on condition that if he passed through uninjured the king should become a Christian. Francis was dismissed, after the Sultan had pressed gifts, which were refused.

During the sojourn of Francis in the East important changes were taking place, beginnings of that protracted revolution which was to transform the Order. Francis had renounced the world for the sake of leading the life in Christ, and there is nothing to show that at first he thought even of a Brotherhood. Men joined him, and while he saw the need of organisation

he refused privileges and shunned formalities. He was captivated by poverty and impelled towards it by a spirit of chivalry, and, more seriously, by a pious desire to avoid the avarice debasing the Church. In no sense did he oppose the Church or join with those who judged Arnold of Brescia a martyr for gospel truth. Yet the purposes and ideals of the great ecclesiastics were very different from his, and not unnaturally some have counted him the victim of an intrigue, when the Brotherhood came under the direction of the Church. Ugolini, it has been affirmed, inspired the changes effected during Francis' stay in the East. And yet the saint was friendly with Ugolini, as he was with Elias, the Brother credited with being the servant of the cardinal's schemes.

Francis was not a dreamer to imagine that a thousand friars, whom perhaps he had never seen, would be controlled by his example and filled with his enthusiasm for simplicity. But he had ideals, and these he would cherish, opposing all schemes of prelates and friars alike which would do violence to his plans. He would not and did not refuse obedience; but, to his mind, the best service to the Church was to follow poverty and restore simplicity. The Brotherhood grew, and, as its members were of different lands and tongues, it required papal help that it might be preserved. The progress was greater than the dream of a visionary or the pride of an egoist could have predicted; and Francis was not so foolish as to think that the glory of success was due to him alone, and that he could altogether save it from official control. During Francis' absence the opportunity for interference came, and Ugolini, as protector, introduced

changes to bind the Order to the Church. That interference, however, might not then have taken place had not the rumour circulated that the saint was dead. One of the most serious changes was the direction of the Poor Ladies of St. Damian, the Poor Clares, as they were afterwards named. In the year 1212 Francis had admitted to the life of poverty a young girl of Assisi, Clara, daughter of the noble house of Sciffi. By his preaching she had been brought to a contempt of the world: "he had poured into her ears the sweetness of Christ." She and certain maidens who had joined her were ultimately received into the Chapel of St. Damian, as a convent, where they were to live in the spirit of the Rule which guided the Brothers. As they could not preach, and were not to go forth to beg, they were to employ themselves with work such as embroidering altar-cloths, and were to attend the sick. The Brothers were to help in their support, and charity was to supply that which was lacking.

Clara was born in 1194, and, according to the legend, before her birth a voice from heaven said that her life would be brilliant. Her mother accordingly desired that the child should be called Clara. Asceticism ruled her as a girl, and under her rich apparel she wore a cruel cincture. Suitors were many, but to none would she listen. The fame of Francis reached her. Having heard him preach in the Cathedral of Assisi, she sought converse with the new apostle. At his advice she fled with companions from her father's house to Portiuncula, to be followed in after days by other members of the family; and when she had taken the vow of poverty, with his own hands he

cut off her flowing hair, consecrating her as a nun. Her first days of poverty were spent in a Benedictine convent, from which she removed to the Church of St. Damian. It is to be remembered that the man who advised the flight of a girl from her home had himself left all for Christ's sake; and also that he who assumed a bishop's function, consecrating a nun, himself asked no priest to set him apart for Christ.

Clara died long after the saint had "fallen asleep," and in 1255, two years after her death, was canonised by Alexander IV. Throughout the later years of his life there was romantic converse between Francis, with some of his friars, and the ladies of St. Damian. Slander never touched that converse, and his most peaceful hours were those spent in the garden of St. Damian, when Clara ministered to her friend.

The number of the Sisters rapidly increased, and in a few years after Clara entered St Damian there were houses in Italy, France, and Spain. The Rule by which the nuns were to live was a modification of that made by the saint for the Brothers. Ugolini put in its place one framed by himself; and, though the newly established houses were willing to accept it, Clara was stubborn in her determination to abide by the statutes of Francis. In 1219 Ugolini bestowed on the Benedictine nuns certain privileges, which Brother Philip obtained for the Poor Ladies. The Rule given by Ugolini and the privileges meant conventional formality and a relaxation of the austerities of poverty; and, to his annoyance, Francis found on his return that Brother Philip had been trafficking with Ugolini, and that his own plan, to constrain the nuns by the

example of his life and the power of his character, and to keep them true to poverty, had been seriously impaired. Among the Brothers themselves greater severity of conduct had been introduced. True to the letter and spirit of the gospel, Francis had allowed the liberty expressed in Luke x. 8, "And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you." The two vicars, however, whom he had left in charge made the rules of fasting more stringent, that they might conform their customs to those of the established Orders. The change was slight, but it was a violation of the freedom and simplicity which were ground principles of Francis' life.

Another event indicated how soon his teaching was to be misunderstood. One of the Brothers, John of Capella, was endeavouring to gather the lepers into an Order, and a Rule for their obedience was submitted to the pope. It was not to the mind of Francis that his Brotherhood should be travestied by any Order with fixed monastic rule, or that any of his friars should be enamoured of formalities in piety. Later tradition tells that Francis found that a house was being erected at Bologna for the Brothers, and was already inhabited in part. He ordered them to quit it at once, and was pacified only when assured that it was not their property.

The primitive simplicity of the Minorites could not be maintained when the Society numbered thousands, and this Francis knew. According to Bonaventura, five thousand men attended one of the chapters held before the Rule was finally sanctioned by Rome. Francis, forced by the logic of events, was compelled in 1219 to accept papal protection for the Brothers

of the mission, many of whom had reported that they were being treated as heretics or revolutionists. Forced to another step, he solicited from the pope the appointment of an official protector. Francis stood before Innocent's successor with this request, in spite of his early determination to seek no privilege. Cardinal Ugolini, because of his friendship, was named protector; and, armed with authority, continued the plan, which was that of Innocent, of bringing the Brotherhood into closer touch with the papacy. One of his schemes was to choose, on occasion, prelates from among the Minorites, as he appreciated the benefit of appointing men with no family interests to serve. To Ugolini's proposal Francis replied: "My friars have been called Minores in order that they may not presume to become Majores. If you desire that they may bear fruit in the Church, keep them and preserve them in the place to which they were called."

One of the first indications of Ugolini's official directorship was the withdrawal of the privileges solicited by Brother Philip for the nuns, and the refusal to establish an Order of lepers. On the other hand, he required that a definite Rule should be formulated for the Brotherhood. That Rule was prepared, but before its sanction it suffered many things at the hands of the Roman Curia, and Francis, in spite of lost ideals, but from loyalty to the Church, had to be content. It is told of the saint that, in the midst of his troubles, he went out one night to pray, and seemed to hear God saying: "Poor little man! I govern the universe; thinkest thou that I cannot overrule the concerns of thy little Order?"

The story shows the man. Francis' trust in God was sure, and in himself he had none. Wounded pride, scorn of change, unfulfilled ideals, were laid as sacrifices before Him who, governing a world, could direct the friars.

CHAPTER III

St. Francis—*continued*

The negotiations between Francis and Ugolini resulted in 1220 in the publication of a bull, which may be taken as the official recognition of the Brotherhood. It contained the significant words: "In nearly all religious Orders it has been wisely ordained that those who present themselves with the purpose of observing the regular life shall make trial of it for a certain time, during which they shall be tested, in order to leave neither place nor pretext for inconsiderate steps. For these reasons we command you by these presents to admit no one to make profession until after one year of novitiate; we forbid that after profession any Brother shall leave the Order, and that anyone shall take back again him who has gone out from it. We also forbid that those wearing your habit shall circulate here and there without obedience, lest the purity of your poverty be corrupted. If any friars have had this audacity, you will inflict upon them ecclesiastical censures until repentance."

Four years before the date of this bull the Dominican Order had been founded, and from the first was placed under papal direction. Why should not Francis act as a dutiful son, and be guided by the wisdom of the highest in the Church? The bull was certainly in-

spired by the desire to conform the Franciscans to the fashion of existing Orders. A chapter was held at which the papal communication was read, and the details of the new Rule were discussed. The incident of chief importance, however, was the retiral of Francis from the leadership, or rather his refusal to become the head of the newly recognised Order. Pietro di Catana, a doctor of laws and a man of noble birth, was chosen minister-general, but he lived little more than a year to bear the burden of office. He had been a canon of the Cathedral of Assisi, and was one of the first to join the Minorites. Francis chose him as his companion in the East, and knowing and loving him as he did, it may be taken that he nominated him as minister-general. He himself had not withdrawn from office, annoyed by the papal policy. He retired from leadership, being unfitted for a place which required organising and directing activities rather than piety and emotion.

Pietro di Catana died in 1221, and was buried in Portiuncula, into which, according to Thomas of Celano, no layman was allowed to enter. After the burial multitudes flocked to the church, on account of the miracles which were wrought; and Francis, disturbed by their tumult, went to the tomb and said: "Brother Peter, in life you were always obedient to me; as, through your miracles, we are pestered by laymen, you must obey me in death. I therefore order you on your obedience to cease from the miracles through which we are troubled by laymen." The saint hated clamour and noise, and was not of those who rushed after signs and wonders. The next to become minister-general was Elias of Cortona, who continued in the

leadership till he had made the Order the mere tool or agent of the papacy.

In 1221, some writers tell us, the Tertiaries, or Third Order, were founded. These Tertiaries were not monks or friars in any sense, but were men and women moved to bring the fundamental teaching of the gospel into the conduct of daily life. From the first appearance of Francis as an evangelist of poverty and love, and not from the exact date 1221, there were men and women who could not join the Brotherhood or Sisterhood, and yet desired to obey the informal Rule which he had framed. Certain duties, we are told, were prescribed for them. They were to keep God's commandments, to avoid oaths and lawsuits, to carry no arms except for defence of the Church, to live in the simplicity of few material wants, and to give liberally to the poor. Above all, the love of Christ was to enter their hearts, and His example to shape their conduct. These Tertiaries, who were to have a long and varied history, were proofs of the spiritual excellence of the Franciscan movement, which affected men and women not in convents or associations separated from the world, but in the family and amidst ordinary business.

A Rule for the Tertiaries, we are told, was approved by the pope, and the name, Brothers and Sisters of Penitence, obtained official recognition. Assertions of this kind, however, are doubtful, as Francis ever feared that the letter might kill the spirit. It is more likely that the Rule belonged to a later year. The form of the vow which candidates for admission were required to take speaks of a time subsequent to the death of the saint. These candidates, after an examination regarding conduct, manners, and association with neighbours, had to

repeat these words: "I promise and vow to God, the Blessed Virgin, our father St. Francis, and all the saints of paradise, to keep all the Commandments of God during the entire course of my life, and to make satisfaction for the transgressions which I may have committed against the Rule and manner of life of the Order of Penitents, instituted by Francis, according to the will of the visitor of that Order, when I am admitted into it."

The story of the foundation of the Third Order is not simple. It is unlikely that Francis dictated a Rule; and certainly the only one of which we have definite information is that issued by Nicolas IV., which was intended for all the existing religious societies of laymen. The Tertiaries, however, were mentioned in a bull of 1221, the alleged year of their foundation; while in 1230 Gregory IX. styled them *fratres tertii ordinis*, and in 1247 Innocent IV. placed them under the directorship of the minister-general. Of some interest is the fact that in 1882, the 700th anniversary of the birth of the saint, Pope Leo XIII. in an encyclical declared that the institution of Franciscan Tertiaries was alone fitted to save humanity from the social and political dangers which threatened it.

It was the glory of Francis to spread religion beyond the cloister, and carry it into family life. He would have men brought to repentance, and filled with a love to Christ which would constrain them to poverty and goodness. These Franciscan Tertiaries, like the associates of other Orders, were helpful in removing the barrier between laymen and clerics, with the result that religion was no longer the possession in a special way of the priest, the monk, and the nun.

Poverty for Francis, as for Dominic, was not simply a question of property or money: it meant for them the sum of the virtues or graces in the character of Jesus Christ. The mendicants, when they taught this doctrine in its purity, in the years of their enthusiasm in the thirteenth century, brought the lesson home to individuals that salvation was to be found not through adherence to rites and ceremonies, through devotion to the Church, or through attention to the sacraments, but through imitation in spirit and in truth of the virtues of Jesus. Men came to know their responsibilities as individuals and their duties in society; learned that the humanity of Christ was their ideal, and that to attain to His perfection was to attain to fellowship with Him as God. It was to the lasting honour of the friars that, in an age when piety was feeble and worship was formal, they quickened the spiritual life of the Church, rousing and freeing men from sloth and slavery in religion, making them conscious of the infinite importance of the issues of the soul. St. Elizabeth of Hungary and St. Louis of France, with their severe uses of piety, are numbered among the Tertiaries; and, in spite of these uses, they show how religion had passed from mere ritual to the conduct of life.

It is a constant tradition that, during part of his life, Dante was a Tertiary; and the assertion is also made, not without plausibility, that after his death he was clothed, according to a wish he had expressed, in the Franciscan dress. Beyond doubt, however, is the fact that he was buried in a chapel of the Franciscan Church of Ravenna.

According to some interpreters, there is a direct

allusion to the Franciscan cord in the mention of that one with which the poet girds himself for the contest with the panther, the symbol of lust and pride—

> "I had a cord which round my waist I wore,
> And with it once of old I thought to take
> The panther with its skin all dappled o'er."

The cord was useless, and in this fact a reference has been traced to Dante's dissatisfaction with the Tertiaries, among whom he found no help to salvation. It is significant that, in the second part of his great poem, he represents himself as girt not with a cord, but with the rush, an emblem of humility—

> "Go then, and gird thou this man, as I teach,
> With a smooth rush."

Apart from purely religious effects, the association of the Tertiaries had important results. The prohibition of arms, save for the defence of the Church, helped to destroy the medieval idea of virtue. War was no longer to be the first concern of a free man. This change in the moral ideal advanced the growth of the middle classes, turning men's attention to trade and commerce, and served also the cause of peace. The restriction, too, of the use of arms to the protection of religion was soon to tell in favour of the Church in the great struggle between the papal and imperial powers, when the Franciscan Tertiaries aided the friars in destroying the authority of Frederick II.

The rise of the middle classes helped to remove the gulf between the rich and the poor; but to the Franciscan movement, and, as part of it, to the establishment of the Tertiaries, is to be attributed the more humane

feeling which existed between all ranks of society. The poor felt that they were not outcasts from humanity, when there were men to heed them, aiding and pitying them; the rich felt that they were brothers to the poor, when they recognised a duty to them, and did it. The plebeian crowd of the city, spurned by the nobles, despised by the artizans, poorer and meaner than the feudal serfs, learned through Francis that Christianity could bring the fortunate to the unfortunate, could consecrate the strong to the service of the weak. Francis especially, but Dominic too, was a saviour of society in bringing the classes together through sympathy and uniting them through duty. Civilisation progressed as men ceased to strive for domination one over another, and learned that the one blood of which God had made them was the symbol of their unity.

The Rule, for the preparation of which Francis had received a papal instruction, was finished in 1221 and presented to the pope. It was important in this respect, that the Brotherhood officially determined that there should be no longer the rule of one man acting with the authority of his own personality and genius. A minister-general was to govern, having under him ministers to direct the mission and to examine candidates for entrance. Francis desired, however, that these men should be servants and not masters. The peculiar ethic of the Order was set forth. The simplicity of the prescribed ritual, with the attention to be paid to poverty and work, and especially to the renunciation of money, showed that the saint desired the friars to continue in the poverty, piety, and humility which had guided his own con-

duct. As the Rule was not framed in conventional mode, and contained dissertations on religion and morals, it was not likely to be sanctioned without suffering serious changes.

On the 29th of November 1223 the Rule was at last published under the authority of Honorius III., and was little more than a collection of statutes, showing almost nothing of the handwork of Francis. The ethical or spiritual exhortations were omitted, as were also, for the most part, the passages from the Bible which had been so important at the foundation of the Brotherhood. The value of life in harmony with the precepts of the gospel, the beauty of poverty, and the use of preaching were set forth, but there was no emphasis on the imitation of Christ. Francis had ordained that the Brothers should labour for daily bread, and had declared that begging was legitimate, when there was no other resource; now, labour was to be a means of avoiding idleness, while begging was to be a privilege and mark of the Order. Another feature was notable. The pope was to name from time to time some cardinal as governor or protector, and a general-minister and provincial-ministers were to be appointed. The general-minister, to whom the Brothers were to give obedience, was to be the servant of the pope, so that they might be kept under the supervision of the Church. How far Francis agreed to these changes is not to be determined. Probably they were made at the instigation of Cardinal Ugolini representing the Church, and Elias of Cortona within the Order, as events were to indicate. Francis agreed to them, but with what grace? He was convinced, there is no reason to doubt, that a new Rule was

needed, since the Brotherhood had made rapid increase. It could hardly have been with satisfaction, however, that he saw poverty, the imitation of the life of Christ, pass into mendicancy, and the freedom of individual piety sink into obedience to the Church. The Order had changed, but he himself was still faithful to the Lady Poverty, still true to the simplicity which secured freedom from worldly concerns.

It is to be noted that mendicancy became the priviledge of the pious under sanction of the official Rule, while Francis himself cherished the idea of the dignity of labour; and his example was not lost on the working classes of the towns. He had no wish that he and his Brothers should beg, unless when work failed; and work was pursued not as a means to wealth, but to daily bread. Freely he would give, and freely, too, would accept anything bestowed in love; and just as readily would he work for the bread for which he prayed. Poverty, not mendicancy, was his ideal. Francis became the popular medieval saint, and while his poverty was a rebuke to worldliness, his judgment of labour as the honourable means to daily bread fostered self-respect in the artizans, who were rapidly increasing in the towns.

One of the peculiarities or characteristics of Francis was his attitude to learning, which, however, is intelligible. Legend has declared that he prophesied the ruin of his Order through zeal for study; but it was certainly not the pursuit of knowledge by which it suffered degradation. Strange stories are recorded, in one of which he speaks thus to a novice desiring to possess a psalter:

"The Emperor Charles, Roland and Oliver, and all

the paladins and all strong men, have pursued the infidel in battle till death, and with great trouble and labour have won their memorable victories. The holy martyrs died struggling for the faith of Christ. But in our days there are persons who seek glory and honour among men by the narration simply of the exploits of heroes. In like manner there are some among you who take more pleasure in writing and preaching on the merits of the saints than in imitating their works." And he afterwards said to the youth: "When you have a psalter you will wish to have a breviary, and when you have a breviary you will sit in a chair like a great prelate, and will say to your brother, 'Brother, fetch me my breviary.'" When, again, he heard that a famous doctor of Paris, perhaps Alexander Hales, had been received into the Order, he said: "I am afraid that such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard. They are the true doctors who, with the meekness of wisdom, exhibit good works for the improvement and edification of their neighbours."

In 1222 he wrote to his friends in Bologna, where the Dominicans had also settled, a letter displaying intense feeling, and dictated probably as a warning against the neglect of piety for the sake of learning. "Lord Jesus," thus he spoke, "Thou didst choose Thine apostles to the number of twelve, and if one of them did betray Thee, the others, remaining united to Thee, preached the holy gospel, filled with one and the same inspiration; and behold now, remembering the former days, Thou hast raised up the religion of the Brothers in order to uphold the faith, and that by them the mystery of Thy gospel may be accomplished. Who will take their place if, instead of fulfilling their

mission and being shining examples for all, they are seen to give themselves up to works of darkness? Oh! may they be accursed by Thee, Lord, and by all the court of heaven, and by me, Thine unworthy servant, they who by their bad example overturn and destroy all that Thou didst do in the beginning, and ceasest not to do by the holy Brothers of this Order."

The letter, which may have been simply a warning against idleness or worldliness, shows that the fire of youth had not died out, and that the passion for the life in Christ still burned. It may be, however, that he wrote to the Brothers of Bologna to guard them against what he deemed was their strongest temptation, the forsaking of the simplicity of the gospel for the learning of the schools, after which the Dominicans sought. Dominic had been trained in theology, and the members of his Order equipped themselves with science to overcome heresy. Francis, the son of a trader, had no culture beyond the refinement of a lyric taste, and to him scholastic study was nothing. He had the passionate desire that he and his friends should commend religion by imitation of Christ, and learning therefore had no place in his schemes. Piety and not science was the one thing needful in preaching to the poor, to the aliens from the commonwealth of humanity, among whom the Minorites laboured.

At the same time, the opposition of Francis to learning was not fanatical. Opposition it hardly was. He was afraid that learning might draw the friars away from Christ. In a letter addressed to Antony of Padua his position may be seen. That letter, pronounced by some to be a forgery, is certainly in harmony with his own words in his Testament. "It

pleases me," thus it is written, "that you interpret to the Brothers the sacred writings and theology, in such a way, however (conformably to our Rule), that the spirit of holy prayer be not extinguished either in you or in others, which I desire earnestly." In the Testament it is laid down: "We ought to honour and revere all the theologians, and those who preach the most holy word of God, as dispensing to us spirit and life." Whatever may have been the attitude of Francis to scientific study and theological learning,—and it does not seem to have been favourable,—many of the Brothers attained high distinction in the universities. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Franciscans of England, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, became the most distinguished body of scholars in Europe, and their fame, one tradition says, attracted Dante to the university of Oxford.

In 1224 the new Rule was presented to the Order at a chapter,—the last which Francis was to attend. It is to this year that innumerable biographers have assigned the incident of the stigmata. Verna, a mountain-peak rising on the borders of Tuscany, was the scene of a mysterious vision, of a seraph with six wings, which appeared to Francis, and which bore the image of a man crucified. He had prayed: "O my Lord Jesus Christ, I beseech Thee grant me two graces before I die: the first, that in my lifetime I may feel in my soul and in my body, so far as may be, the pain that Thou, sweet Lord, didst bear in the hours of Thy most bitter passion; the second is, that I may feel in my heart, as far as may be, that exceeding love wherewith Thou, O Son of God, wast kindled to willingly endure such agony for us sinners." The seraph was

the Christ, and Francis felt the joy of His presence and His love, and, at the same time, sorrow for the pain of the Crucified One. Then it was revealed to him that he should understand that "not by the martyrdom of the body, but by the enkindling of his mind, must he needs be wholly transformed into the express image of Christ crucified." And yet, when the vision had passed, there was in the flesh of Francis a copy of the wounds of Christ. "His hands and his feet appeared pierced through the midst with nails, the heads of the nails being seen in the inside of the hands and upper part of the feet, and the points on the reverse side. The heads of the nails in the hands and feet were round and black, and the points somewhat long and bent, as if they had been turned back. On the right side, as if it had been pierced with a lance, was the mark of a red wound, from which the sacred blood often flowed and stained his tunic." In the *Little Flowers* we are told that Christ said to His servant, before the stigmata were actually given: "Knowest thou what it is that I have done unto thee? I have given thee the stigmata, that are the signs of my passion, to the end that thou mayest be my standard-bearer. And even as on the day of my death I descended into hell and brought out thence all the souls that I found there by virtue of these my stigmata: even so do I grant to thee that every year on the day of thy death thou shall go to Purgatory, and in virtue of thy stigmata shalt bring out thence all the souls of thy three Orders, to wit, Minors, Sisters, and Continents; and likewise, others that shall have had a great devotion unto thee, and shalt lead them unto the glory of Paradise, to the end that thou mayest be conformed to me in death,

as thou art in life." These words simply show the progress of the legend, and have nothing of the dramatic interest of the vision and the gift of the stigmata. With touching humility, as it is narrated, Francis tried to conceal the wounds, and yet many saw and testified that they had seen them. A knight of renown, Jerome by name, was the doubting Thomas of this new Passion, and would not believe till the dead Francis appeared and made him touch the nails and the wound. The Lady Jacoba, who in the legend was present at the death of Francis, kissed the pierced feet and bathed them with her tears, showing herself another Magdalene; while Clara and her Sisters, at the burial, saw the tokens of the Saviour's favour. In one of the frescoes of Giotto the forms of Clara and her companions may be seen bending over the body of the saint. The story of Gregory IX. and the stigmata is thus told by Lord Lindsay: "He hesitated before canonising St. Francis, doubting the celestial infliction of the stigmata. St. Francis appeared to him in a vision, and, with a severe countenance reproving his unbelief, opened his robe, and, exposing the wound in his side, filled a vial with the blood that flowed from it, and gave it to the pope, who awoke and found it in his hand."

The Minorites and—of importance for the spread of the story—Gregory IX. and Alexander IV. accepted the genuineness of the stigmata, so that the friends of the Order were satisfied and rejoiced in the divine honour. Zealots have believed the miracle; sceptics have doubted, while some have denied it. The evidence, such as it is, makes for the conclusion that the body bore the marks of the suffering of Christ. Yet there has been evidence

of the same kind for wonders which never happened. There are those, unconvinced by the testimony of the saint's friends, who disbelieving the miracle regret with artistic sense the loss of the dramatic incident of the stigmata. The members of the Order, however, have been pleased to draw a parallel between the saint's career and the Saviour's life, and to accept the wounds as a sign that there was in Francis the same mind as was in Christ.

The theory has been suggested that Brother Elias, who intimated the death of Francis to the Order, was the author of the fraud by which the story of the stigmata gained acceptance. The intimation contained these words: "I announce to you a great joy and a new miracle. Never has the world seen such a sign, except on the Son of God who is the Christ God. For a long time before his death our Brother and Father appeared as crucified, having in his body five wounds which are truly the stigmata of Christ, for his hands and his feet bore marks as of nails without and within, forming a sort of scars; while at the side he was as if pierced with a lance, and often a little blood oozed from it." Professor Hase, and M. Renan follows him, suggests that Elias hurried the funeral, and when verification was impossible invented the story. Another theory is that the wounds of the cautery used in his last sickness were the origin of the legend of the stigmata. Such a theory does not remove the difficulty that the men who declared themselves witnesses were not likely to be deceived by a palpable fraud.

The Dominicans would not be convinced that this divine favour had been granted to the founder of the Franciscan Order, even though they had a multitude

of miracles by their own saint. At last their denials of the stigmata were silenced by papal command. In their extremity some of them, changing their position, claimed that the same favour had been shown to Dominic; while it became the fashion, after the death of Catharine of Siena, to assert for her the honour of the wounds of Christ. In 1475, however, Sixtus IV. prohibited the ascription of the stigmata to Catharine; and so by papal decree the glory rests with Francis alone.

As the legend of St. Francis grew, the desire of his admirers increased to make him like unto Christ. Peter John Olivi, in the reign of John XXII., wrote that Francis was entirely transformed into Christ; and, in the same reign, Francis Bernard Delitiosi declared that the Gospel of Christ was not more sacred and more to be observed than the Rule of St. Francis. In 1385 Bartholomew Abbizzi, a friar of Pisa, wrote *The Golden Book of the Conformities of the Holy Father St. Francis with the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, in which he mentioned forty points of resemblance, and among these included the stigmata. As late as 1651 a Spanish monk increased the points of resemblance to four thousand.

After the incident or vision of the stigmata, Francis sought the aid of a physician, as he was suffering from an affection which threatened blindness. An operation on the forehead was performed with the cautery, but with no good result. Eager none the less to continue his labours, he preached in the district of Rieti, making missionary excursions. Strength failed, and, as Bonaventura reports, "he began to suffer so many infirmities that there was scarcely one of his members but was

tormented by increased pain and suffering." As early as the chapter of 1221 his weakness had almost mastered him. Wishing to address the Brothers, he pulled the gown of Elias, whispering to him, and then Elias spoke for him. Now, in his feebleness, he desired to leave Rieti and to reach Assisi, where he was comforted with the welcome of the people. Six months later he was still alive, and set forth on another journey in quest of health, only to be brought back in a litter to the bishop's palace. A few days after his arrival in the palace he was taken to Portiuncula. "Never abandon it," he said to the friars with him, "for that place is truly sacred; it is the house of God." On the road to the palace or to Portiuncula he caused the litter to be placed on the ground, that he might gaze on Assisi; and stretching forth his hand, he blessed the city which had been his home. "Blessed be thou of God, O holy city,"—these are the words in the *Little Flowers*—"seeing that through thee shall many souls be saved, and in thee shall dwell many servants of the Lord: and out of thee shall many be chosen for the kingdom of eternal life." He was borne to the hospital, such as it was, of Portiuncula, and there he dictated his last Testament. An incident thus recorded shows the man: "Desiring to give a true proof to all men that he had no longer anything in common with the world, in that grievous and painful sickness he laid aside his habit, and placed himself prostrate on the bare earth, that in the last hour in which the enemy would attack him with all his fury he might wrestle naked with his natural adversary. Lying thus on the earth with his face raised, according to his custom, to heaven, and intent

upon its glory, with his left hand he covered the wound on his right side, and said to his brethren, 'I have done my part: may Christ teach you to do yours.'" Some of the friars were around him, among them men who had been his first friends, and these all he blessed. Clara was still living, but the stern Rule kept her from the deathbed of her dearest friend. Elias, too, was blessed, though the extreme Franciscans of later days, beholding in him another Judas, hated his memory. One of his pious disciples, as an early biographer relates, saw the soul of the saint, in the form of a star, brighter than the sun, conveyed on a white cloud over many waters into heaven. Another, on his deathbed, saw the spirit of the saint rising to heaven, and cried, "Tarry, father; I come with thee," and fell back dead. The legend is charming which tells that larks, late in the evening though it was, hovered over the roof of his last dwelling. Two years before his death, so runs the story, it was revealed to him what the number of his days should be.

Francis died on the eve of 3rd October 1226, and in 1228 was canonised, when Ugolini, as Gregory IX., sat on the papal throne. The body was placed in the Church of St. George, and when it was being carried to its resting-place therein, it was taken past St. Damian, the abode of Clara and the Poor Sisters. The saint had asked in excess of humility, but the request was not heeded, to be buried in a spot where criminals were executed.

In 1228, after the ceremony of canonisation, Gregory laid the foundation-stone of a magnificient basilica, dedicated to the memory of the saint, to which the

body was ultimately removed; and legend tells that down in the depths, below the church, Francis in deep meditation, with blood in the stigmata, waits for a resurrection which will take him back to earth. The pope appointed the 4th of October as the feast of Francis, enjoining the people to keep it, that they might benefit by his merits.

Nothing is more significant of the reverence, even though mixed with superstition, in which the saint was held by later generations than the fact that, to use the words of Wiclif: "Thei teachen lordis and namely ladies that if thei dyen in Franceys habite, thei schul nevere cum in helle for vertu thereof." Catherine of Aragon may be named as one of the ladies who, at a later day, put on the habit of the Order. It was, however, the love of money which made the friars teach that burial in their cloisters was, like bounty to the Order, a sure means to salvation; and multitudes believed the teaching.

Dante, in the case of Guido di Montefeltro, showed the popular belief that Francis visited hell to rescue those girt with his cord—

> "I was a man of arms, then Cordelier,
> Deeming that I, so girt, might make amend;
> And true enough that deeming might appear,
> But that the High Priest—evil be his end!—
> Sent me back yet again to former crime;
> . . . . . .
> Then Francis came, when I had passed death's gate,
> For me; but one of those swarth cherubin
> Said, 'Take him not; defraud not my estate.'"

The Dominicans also taught that grace was to be

found through wearing their official apparel. Thus Milton speaks—

> "Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised."

At the date of the translation of the body a scheme of indulgences was devised for all visitors to the church. The Minorites afterwards claimed Gregory's injunction as the first of nineteen bulls, granted at various times, which assured indulgences to such visitors. The Dominicans, in like manner, claimed that similar privileges were given to all who aided them in erecting their buildings. To such uses were Francis and Dominic brought.

Next to the Rule the most significant writing of Francis is the Will or last Testament, which Renan with insufficient reason has pronounced a forgery. It is even more significant, inasmuch as it is the teaching of the man untouched by any representative of the Church, a return to the simplicity in which the Brothers were first associated. Reverence towards priests, obedience to the superiors of the Order, and strict adherence to the Rule are enjoined. There is once more insistence on poverty; and it is strange to find the command that no bull from Rome, not even one ensuring the personal protection of the friars, is to be accepted. The Brothers are to work, and here there is evidence of the saint's attitude to mendicancy:—"and when they do not give us the price of the work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging our bread from door to door."

Whatever may have been the relations of Francis to Rome, and especially to Ugolini, there is in the Testa-

ment, even while honour is directed to be paid to priests, a last cry for that imitation of Christ through poverty and simplicity to which the great ecclesiastics were deaf. The writer himself describes his Will as "a reminder, a warning, an exhortation." He required that nothing should be taken from or added to it, and, though this reassertion of the primitive freedom of the Brotherhood was in opposition to many precepts of the Rule, he enjoined that the Rule and Testament should be read together.

Francis never directly opposed the Church, and against its policy had no distinct counterplan; but nowhere was it more clearly shown than in the Will that his heart was not in sympathy with the violent changes made in the organisation and purposes of the Order. With his last words he emphasised the principles of labour, poverty, and love which had governed the Brothers when first they went out into the world.

In spite of austere poverty there was in Francis none of the gloom of asceticism. The Troubadours had fascinated him in his youth, and there was ever the element of joy in his religion. It is possible to isolate some of his words, and to argue that there was even a Manichæan basis to his thought. "Many when they sin or are injured," he said, "blame their enemy or neighbour. This should not be so, for everyone has his enemy in his power, namely, the body through which he sins." In a threatened conflict with demons —as Francis in common with all saints named certain spiritual experiences—he welcomed them, saying his body was his worst enemy, and that they could do with it whatsoever Christ would permit; and, on another occasion, he described his body as his most

cruel enemy and worst adversary, whom he would willingly abandon to the demons. On the other side, we hear him saying, "I have sinned against my brother the ass," and understand that he had been too severe to his body. Again, with an insight unusual in medieval days, he doubted "whether he who had destroyed himself by the severity of his penances could find mercy in eternity." Yet he attributed to the devil the words: "Francis, there is no sinner in the world whom, if he be converted, God will not pardon; but he who kills himself by hard penances will find no mercy in eternity." There was no thought of the devil, however, when he carried bread to one who had fasted to the serious injury of health. The friar would not eat, whereat Francis, breaking the bread, ate of it himself, and said: "Take not the eating, but the love, my brethren, for your example." Francis was not speculative, and the popular metaphysic, so far as he knew it, dominated him. In conduct, however, he adopted simplicity, and less than many saints indulged in excess of fasting. To make him like unto Christ, legend tells that on one occasion he fasted forty days and forty nights, eating no more than one half loaf. On the other hand, there is a description in the *Little Flowers* of the chapter of the Brothers, at which Dominic was said to be present, and it is told how men came "with sumpter beasts, horses and carts, with loads of bread, of wine, of honeycombs, and cheese, and other good things to eat, according as the poor of Christ had need." The absence of austerity from the religion of Francis is seen from another passage of the *Little Flowers*, which, though it may be unfounded, illustrates the impression created by the

saint. He was told at the chapter—that at which provision was so abundantly made for the wants of "the poor of Christ"—that many of the Brothers "wore shirts of mail on their bare flesh, and bands of iron, for the which reason many were weak and some were dying thereby, and many were let and hindered from prayer. Wherefore Saint Francis, like a most prudent father, commanded by holy obedience that whoso had either shirt of mail or band of iron should take it off and lay it down before him, and even so did they."

The saint, while certainly not emancipated from the religious or ethical ideas peculiar to his age, was no lover of extremes. Assuredly he did not see that asceticism, sacrifice for sacrifice' sake, could not be acceptable to Him who asked for the broken spirit and the contrite heart. On the other hand, his poverty was intended as an imitation of Christ, and he did not starve like some zealot of the fields, or torture his flesh with many stripes that he might be healed. Such customs could not be included in an imitation of Christ; and thus there is no revolting picture of emaciation or self-violence. It is of moment, in understanding the man, to note that cloister life was not his ideal. He knew the meaning of the prayer of the Lord, not to take men out of the world, but to keep them from the evil thereof; and through the world he went as one with a mission, despising the ease of the convent, and choosing rather to find salvation in seeking the lost than to nurture his own soul far off from earthly interests.

Francis was never so separated from the spirit of his age as to be free from sadness in his theology. Speculation on the doctrine of sin and contemplation

of the physical sufferings of Christ characterised cloister theology, and influenced the whole of medieval religious thought. Yet the genius of Francis kept him from morbid imaginations. Ruskin, who understood him, has used words which do not represent the saint. "Now the gospel of works," he says, "according to St. Francis, lay in three things. You must work without money, and be poor. You must work without pleasure, and be chaste. You must work according to orders, and be obedient." Work was to be without pleasure, not that the worker should be sad, but that he should be kept from the vulgar ends of labour. More truly it may be said that joy in life, not the gloom of asceticism, was characteristic of Francis; and in that joy there was a lyric element. He sang as he went abroad on his missionary journeys. He knew and loved French, and had sung the Troubadour songs, the melody of which was in his heart, if the words could not be on his lips. A charming legend relates that heavenly music floated through his cell when he desired comfort, and there was no human hand to touch an instrument for his delight. The Canticle of the Sun, or the Canticle of the Creatures, as it is also called, is attributed to Francis, though there is no reference to it till, in 1385, it was quoted by Bartholomew of Pisa. The verse is irregular, and yet there is a tradition that Francis had it revised by Brother Pacifico, the king of verse, as he has been styled. The lyric feeling of a singer and the aspiration of a religious man are alike visible, and since the author speaks, as Francis was wont to do, of the sun as his brother, the moon as his sister, and the earth as his mother, there is no reason to doubt that he was the

author. Matthew Arnold's translation may be quoted as the version of an English poet:—

"O Most High, Almighty, good Lord God, to Thee belong praise, glory, honour, and all blessing!

"Praised be my Lord God with all His creatures, and specially our brother the sun, who brings us the day and who brings us the light; fair is he, and shines with a very great splendour: O Lord, he signifies to us Thee!

"Praised be my Lord for our sister the moon, and for the stars, the which He has set clear and lovely in heaven.

"Praised be my Lord for our brother the wind, and for air and cloud, calms and all weather, by the which Thou upholdest life in all creatures.

"Praised be my Lord for our sister water, who is very serviceable unto us, and humble and precious and clean.

"Praised be my Lord for our brother fire, through whom Thou givest us light in the darkness; and he is bright and pleasant and very mighty and strong.

"Praised be my Lord for our mother the earth, the which doth sustain us and keep us, and bringeth forth divers fruits and flowers of many colours, and grass.

"Praised be my Lord for all those who pardon one another for His love's sake, and who endure weakness and tribulation; blessed are they who peaceably shall endure, for Thou, O Most Highest, shall give them a crown.

"Praised be my Lord for our sister, the death of the body, from which no man escapeth. Woe to him who dieth in mortal sin! Blessed are they who are found

walking by Thy most holy will, for the second death shall have no power to do them harm.

"Praise ye and bless the Lord, and give thanks unto Him, and serve Him with great humility."

It is said that the verse regarding pardon and peace was written on account of a dispute between the Bishop and the magistrates of Assisi, and that when the Brothers sang it in the city the adversaries were reconciled. Francis' love of song inspired his companions, and in this fashion, more than by actual authorship, he influenced the rise and progress of Italian vernacular verse. He and certain of his friars may be styled without hesitation the originators of that verse. Of the Canticle of the Sun, Ozanam, in *Les Poëtes Franciscains*, has said: "Ce n'est qu'un cri; mais c'est le premier cri d'une poésie naissante, qui grandira et qui saura se faire entendre de toute la terre." In tracing the influence of the Franciscans on early Italian literature, this writer mentions, in addition to the saint himself and the authors of the *Little Flowers*, the unnamed Brother Pacifico, who had been a Troubadour, and Giacopone di Todi—

> "That son of Italy who tried to blow,
> Ere Dante came, the trump of sacred song."

The Dies Iræ has, not without plausible reason, been ascribed to Thomas of Celano, the biographer of Francis. Giacopone di Todi was a lawyer, who on the death of his wife joined the Third Order of the Minorites. For ten years he feigned madness, that he might secure ill-treatment in which to exercise patience, and then became a friar. The Stabat Mater Dolorosa was his

work, and in another direction he gained notoriety by his satires against Boniface VIII. Not the least, certainly, of the services which Francis and his followers rendered to Italy was the use of the vernacular as a vehicle for the expression of lyric feeling. "The beginnings," says Matthew Arnold, "of the mundane poetry of the Italians are in Sicily, at the Court of kings; the beginnings of their religious poetry are in Umbria, with St. Francis. His are the humble upper waters of a mighty stream: at the beginning of the thirteenth century it is St. Francis; at the end, Dante." Harnack, in his *History of Dogma*, thus characterises the influence of the mendicants on poetry: "A lyric poetry that awakens a response in us exists only from the thirteenth century, and what force the Latin and German tongues are capable of developing in describing the inner life we have been taught by the mendicant monks. From the discernment that lowliness and poverty, scorn and contempt, shame and misery, suffering and death, are aids to the saint's progress, from the contemplation of the man Jesus, from compassion, and pain, and humility, there sprang for Western Christianity, in the age of the mendicant monks, that inner elevation, and that enrichment of feeling and of moral responsibility, which were the condition for all that was to grow up in the time that followed. One speaks of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and comprehends in these words, taken together, the basis of our present-day culture; but both have a strong common root in the elevation of religious and æsthetic feeling in the period of the mendicant monks."

The personification of the sun and moon and wind in the Canticle was more than a mere literary figure.

Francis was love-intoxicated, touching all nature with his sympathy. The world was not for him harsh and hateful, given over to the Evil One. It was a world with God everywhere, with all things His, and therefore to be loved. Even to death, sister death, as a divine servant, he extended his courtesy. "But now we have to speak," says Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister*, "of the Third Religion, grounded on reverence for what is beneath us. . . . But what a task was it, not only to be patient with the Earth, . . . but also to recognise humility and poverty, mockery and despite, disgrace and wretchedness, suffering and death, to recognise these things as divine." One seems to hear in these words an echo of the famous Canticle; and Francis, one may believe, furnished Goethe with the content of the Third Religion. The habit of courtesy had been fostered in Francis by acquaintance with the knightly customs of the Troubadour songs. Doubtless there was a suggestion of artificiality when he addressed the wind as his brother, and of sentimentality when he spoke of sister death; yet the large heart and glowing piety of the man shone forth in his gentleness to animals, as when he spoke to the birds that had gathered round him. There were birds on the ground, and others flew down from the trees, and all remained quiet while he said: "My little sisters, the birds, much bounden are ye unto God, your Creator, and alway in every place ought ye to praise Him, for that He hath given you liberty to fly about everywhere, and hath also given you double and triple raiment; moreover, He preserved your seed in the ark of Noah, that your race might not perish out of the world; still more are ye beholden to Him for the

element of the air which He hath appointed for you; beyond all this, ye sow not, neither do you reap; and God feedeth you, and giveth you the streams and fountains for your drink, the mountains and the valleys for your refuge and high trees whereon to make your nests; and because ye know not how to spin or sow, God clotheth you, you and your children; wherefore your Creator loveth you much, seeing that He hath bestowed on you so many benefits; and therefore, my little sisters, beware of the sin of ingratitude, and study always to give praises unto God." Biographers have related how the birds gathered round St. Gall and St. Columba, but in the whole calendar of saints there has been no one with a sympathy keener than that which Francis had for birds and beasts. Very charming is the story of the swallows. Once, when preaching, he could not make himself heard for their chirping. "It is," he said, "my turn to speak, little sister swallows, hearken to the word of God; keep silent and be very quiet until I have finished." A leveret which had been caught in a trap he thus addressed: "Come to me, brother leveret." Touched with its sorrow, he extended to it that sympathy which he had ever ready for the afflictions of men. "If I could only be presented to the emperor," he said on one occasion, "I would pray him, for the love of God and of me, to issue an edict prohibiting anyone from catching or imprisoning my sisters the larks, and ordering that all who have oxen or asses should at Christmas feed them particularly well." "The sermon to the birds," says Sabatier, "closed the reign of Byzantine art, and of the thought of which it was the image. It is the end of dogmatism

and authority; it is the coming in of individualism and inspiration; very uncertain, no doubt, and to be followed by obstinate reactions, but none the less marking a date in the history of the human conscience." That sermon, says Renan, with amusing disdain of elaborate systems, is "le résumé de toute bonne théologie." "I should myself think the clergyman," says Ruskin in "The Lord's Prayer and the Church," "most likely to do good who accepted the πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει so literally as at least to sympathise with St. Francis' sermon to the birds, and to feel that feeding either sheep or fowls, or muzzling the ox, or keeping the wrens alive in the snow, would be received by their Heavenly Father as the *perfect* fulfilment of His 'Feed my sheep' in the higher sense."

Love was to Francis the beginning and end of religion, and religion was no mere service at the altar of the Church, no mere repetition of prayers within its walls. His love found its inspiration in Christ, and it extended to all that he conceived to be His, to the poor and unfortunate, to the birds and beasts, even to the sun and wind, and to death itself. He is not less to be admired, not less of a saint, because he had, as he seems to have had, his dream of domestic affection. There is a charming childishness, and at the same time, a revelation of the pathos of unfulfilled desires, in the story that one of the Brothers saw him in the moonlight make seven figures of snow, and heard him say: "Here is thy wife, these four are thy sons and daughters, the other two are thy servant and handmaid; and for all these thou are bound to provide. Make haste, then, and provide clothing for them, lest they perish with cold. But if the care of so many trouble thee, be thou

careful to serve the Lord alone." His pious imagination was touched by the scene of Bethlehem where Christ was born. The humility of that birth quickened in him the desire for poverty; and the ox and the ass that stood at the Master's crib warmed his affection for animals. With the papal consent he introduced into the Christmas services in the chapels of the Order representations of the surroundings of the Saviour's birth, means not the least potent to excite devotion.

It is not mere fancy to designate Francis the inspirer of the great artists from Cimabue and Giotto to Raphael. Before he appeared as a preacher of religion, it has been well said, God in Christ, Christ in God, was far off from the world; but he showed the man Christ, and made men feel their own kinship with God. What was divine could be set forth only through that which was human. And for this teacher nature was God's, and man and nature were not at enmity. Then again, in his preaching the old religious world with its lawgivers, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints became alive once more; his vivid imagination quickened the dead, and they walked on earth. As Christ inspired His apostles who carried His gospel over the world, so Francis gave his message to his friars, who, having seen Christ as man, and God in the world and in man also, and having felt the presence of the heroes of religion, were faithful to their charge; and, as one says, Giotto, who heard the message, began the art of the Renaissance. Poetry and painting, apart from religion proper, caught an inspiration from the saint, and, like piety itself, were quickened into newness and fulness of life.

A modern writer on Dante, after referring to the

tradition that that poet was in Assisi when Giotto was painting his frescoes, says: "Note the singularly Dantesque symbolism of these frescoes, the Tower of Chastity, with her true servants driving off the blind Cupid with his arrows, emblem of sensual love, into the abyss. . . . Observe the Centaur, cowed, in his brute strength, by the law of obedience; while Prudence (in its full platonic sense as including all ethical wisdom) presents, after a Janus fashion, on one side her severity and on the other her goodness,—and the conclusion is, I think, legitimate, as far as any conclusion from circumstantial evidence can be, that there was some link closely connecting one period of Dante's life with the influence of the Franciscan Order." Let this conclusion be admitted, and there is the fact that Francis inspired the poetry which was represented in its grace and strength by Dante, who in turn left his impress on the art of Giotto, a painter quickened by the genius of the saint.

In Francis' private life there was a touch of almost romantic spiritual affection for Clara of the Poor Ladies. The Rule permitted him to see her but seldom, yet when he was in trouble he went to her for sympathy; and her prayers were constantly offered on his behalf. On one occasion, and one only according to the record, Clara desired to visit Francis and eat with him. For a time he would not receive her, till, hearing of her grief, his companions said to him: "Father, it seemeth that this sternness is not in accordance with divine charity; hearken now unto Clara, a virgin, holy and beloved of God. It is but a little thing that she asks of thee, to eat with her; and she, at thy preaching, forsook all that the world offers of joy and society and

wealth." Francis at last agreed, ordering preparations to be made in the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, where Clara had taken the vow of poverty. Clara arrived with one of the nuns, and found the feast spread upon the floor. The meal was much more than the breaking of bread, as Francis talked of God and His love in such fashion that the friends forgot to eat. The meeting, if it ever took place, was one of the charming incidents in the lives of these two saints of the Order of Poverty. Their names are linked together like Jerome and Paula, Benedict and his sister Scholastica, in ecclesiastical history; like Dante and Beatrice, Petrarch and Laura, in literature; and many have deemed the affection of Francis and Clara more than spiritual, an offering on that altar of God which not seldom has received the sacrifice of the most tender love.

Poverty was the watchword of Francis, summing up for him all active virtues. Before his day religion was little more than attention to the observances of the Church. He, on the other hand, was the preacher of personal piety. His love flowed to Christ, and conduct was an imitation of His sacred life. Dominic in the same manner sought to invite men to religion, preaching the gospel and teaching the truths of the Church's dogma. Francis chose to preach, but also to show forth the beauty of holiness by imitation of Christ. The end sought by the two saints alike was to stimulate piety, not by drawing men to the cloister for contemplation, but by keeping them in the world for the practice of righteousness.

The mendicants, while acting as the servants of the Church, unintentionally fostered the tendency to

criticise ecclesiastical pretensions and priestly professions, and to examine the validity of the dogma. Stimulated to piety, the soul found freedom and rejoiced, and in its freedom took up the task of testing authority, and the Reformation was the far-off result. Taught by the mendicants that religion must govern conduct, men listened to their doctrine, and inquired, and thought, and judged.

A clear insight into the religion of Francis, or at least of the good friars with whom the story originated, is obtained from the chapter of the *Little Flowers* which is styled, "How, as Saint Francis and Brother Leo were going by the way, he set forth unto him what things were perfect joy." Though one should perform all miracles, the saint said, such as giving sight to the blind, or making the deaf to hear, one would not therein find perfect joy. Then going on with Brother Leo, Francis continued, that though one knew all tongues and all sciences, one would not therein find perfect joy. Then again he said, that though one should speak with the tongue of angels and know the courses of the stars, one would not therein find perfect joy. Going still farther on his way, he cried aloud: "O Brother Leo, albeit the Brother Minor could preach so well as to turn all the infidels to the faith of Christ, write that not therein is perfect joy." Then Brother Leo besought him saying: "Father, I pray thee in the name of God that thou tell me wherein is perfect joy." Francis thereupon pictured himself and Leo, wet and cold and dirty and hungry, at the gate of St. Mary of the Angels, and the porter reviling them as no true men, and bidding them be off; and declared: "If therewithal we patiently endure such wrong and such

cruelty and such rebuffs without being disquieted and without murmuring against him, and with humbleness and charity bethink us that this porter knows us full well, and that God makes him to speak against us; O Brother Leo, write that herein is perfect joy." Continuing, he spoke of them as thrown down and beaten and suffering with patience and gladness, thinking on the pains of the blessed Christ, and thus concluded: "O Brother Leo, write that here and herein is perfect joy. Then hear the end of the whole matter, Brother Leo: Above all graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit that Christ granteth to His beloved, is to overcome oneself, and willingly for the love of Christ endure pains and insults and shame and want."

The lesson thus taught was a lesson in obedience to the Sermon on the Mount, to the command "resist not evil." Obedience to Christ and imitation of Him, inspired by love, were the very essence of the religion of Francis. Saints before him had been consumed by adoration of the Saviour, and in truth had destroyed their manhood in the contemplation of the cloister. But he was not consumed. Filled he was with a passion which led him to conquer himself, and to go forth to those whom Christ's own love embraced. That which Francis taught was taken by his followers, and set forth in the verse of poets like Giacopone di Todi, and the prose of mystics like Bonaventura. It is the doctrine that poverty and humility, insult and shame, suffering and death may, by an inspiration derived through contemplation of Christ, become helps to the progress of the soul. The mean things of life may lose their vileness, and minister unto salvation.

Writers such as Renan in France, Thode in Germany,

and Kuenen in Holland, have associated the names of Buddha and Francis. The Eastern sage and the Western saint each stepped beyond the bounds of formal religion, each sought through poverty, through a renunciation of all material possessions, to be free from the tyranny of a sordid world, and each tried through mastery of the body to secure direction of himself. Of less importance in the parallel, each had associated with him a band of mendicant monks. But there was a difference. Buddha was a thinker, this way and that dividing the things of the spirit, and few there were who found him. Francis was a poet, his thought kindled by feeling, his life artistically shaped by love; and he was to many as another Christ, perfect through poverty, humility, and love.

CHAPTER IV

St. Dominic

Dominic, whose name is found in the famous Order, was born in the year 1170, in the Castilian village of Calaruega. His father Felix, it is generally said, was a member of the ancient house of Guzman; and his mother, Joanna of Aza, was also of noble birth. She was noted for piety, and through the intercession, we are told, of St. Dominic of Silos, a son was born to her when her two eldest boys had entered the cloister. This child was named Dominic. Before his birth she beheld him, according to the legend, as a black and white dog, grasping with his mouth a torch which illuminated the whole world; while his godmother saw him with a star on his forehead and another on his neck, in token that he would give light to East and West. The boy was reared in an atmosphere of religion, and the record is ample of his precocious piety, and the miracles which attended his infancy. He left his bed at midnight to kneel in prayer on the floor, and answered his nurse that for this he had come.

> "Silent and wakeful oft in midnight's gloom
> He by his nurse was seen upon the ground,
> As though he said, 'To this end have I come.'"

On one occasion a swarm of bees settled on his lips,

to foretell his eloquence. In his fifteenth year he was sent to the public school or university of Palencia, where he continued for ten years. Tales of his charity are narrated. Finding a woman unable to purchase a friend's release from captivity, he offered himself to be sold that money for a ransom might be obtained. Again, in a time of famine, he parted with his books and furniture that he might buy bread for the hungry.

Having left Palencia, Dominic, at the desire of the bishop, became one of the canons regular attached to the Cathedral of Osma; and in a short time his austerity and piety won for him the place of sub-prior, under Diego de Azevedo, who was to exercise a lasting influence on his career. His favourite book at this period was the *Collationes* of Cassian, a writer in the early part of the fifth century, who dealt with the spirit and aim of monasticism.

The first event of public interest in the life of Dominic was the association in 1203 with Azevedo, at that time Bishop of Osma, in an embassy to arrange a royal marriage. Crossing the Pyrenees, they passed through Languedoc, and were witnesses of religious degradation and priestly apathy in that territory which now forms a part of France. When they had completed the business of the embassy and were returning to Spain, they visited Rome. There the bishop sought release from the duties of his see that he might proceed as a missionary to certain wild tribes in Hungary. Innocent III. refused this request, and the bishop and his companion continued their homeward journey. At Montpellier they met the papal legates who were conferring as to the heresy disturbing the district. They were told that poverty was a special feature of

the life of the heretical teachers; and it became evident to the bishop, from the suits and trappings of the legates, that the failure of the Church was largely due to the pomp and style of the representatives. He forthwith advised the legates to endeavour to gain the hearts of the people through the practice of piety and humility and earnest preaching of the gospel. To give an example, he dismissed his retinue, keeping only Dominic by his side, and resolved to remain, that he might declare the faith of the Church. Innocent was now willing to sanction his absence from his see, in the hope that something might be done to overcome the evil menacing the Church. Azevedo accordingly entered on his missionary labours, with Dominic as his assistant and companion.

During the reign of Innocent, in spite of papal supremacy,—in consequence, rather, of the long strife for political power,—heresy was widespread in England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy itself. The heretics were divided into sects, differing in creed and worship, yet united in their opposition to the Church. The worldly policy of Rome made her heedless of the religious wants of the people, and the spiritually destitute turned to new teachers and welcomed the old biblical truths, and sometimes fantastic or novel doctrines. Reformers within the Church denounced its worldliness: heretics outside sought its destruction. The scandalous life and worldly spirit of multitudes of the clergy, in spite of all attempts at reform, produced revolts against this doctrine or that, against ecclesiastical authority, and against ceremonies performed by discredited priests. Thus Peter de Brueys, who was ultimately burned by an infuriated clergy, had a

following who believed with him that there should be no infant baptism; that the doctrine of the real presence was untrue; that the worship of the cross, the veneration paid to churches, and prayers for the dead, should cease. Peter de Brueys' work in Languedoc was continued by Henry the Deacon, and Bernard of Clairvaux was commissioned to counteract him. Bernard's piety and eloquence were destructive of heresy, but his report of the condition of the local Church was disturbing information for Rome. He described "the churches without people, the people without priests, the priests without respect, the Christians without Christ, the churches deemed synagogues, the holy places of God denied to be holy, the sacraments no longer sacred, the holy days without their solemnities." Peter de Brueys may be taken as the type of men who denied dogmas and condemned ceremonies, without at the same time setting forth positive doctrines alien to Christianity.

The most spiritual of the opponents of the Church were the Waldensians, who, according to an anonymous writer of the thirteenth century, were the forerunners of the Franciscans. "There arose," this writer says, "two monastic Orders of the Church, . . . the Franciscans and the Dominicans, which were approved of, perhaps, on this account: because two sects which still exist had arisen in Italy, one of which called itself the Humiliati, and the other the Poor Men of Lyons. . . . I saw, at that time, some of their number, who were called Poor Men of Lyons, at the apostolic see, . . . they were trying to get their sect confirmed and privileged. They went about through the towns and villages saying, forsooth, that they lived the life of the apostles, not desiring to have any possessions or any fixed

dwelling-place." Peter Waldo of Lyons, with whose name the Waldensians are associated, seeking to lead the life in Christ, distributed his goods to the poor, and began to preach the gospel. Causing a translation of parts of the New Testament, and also of "Sentences" from the Fathers, to be made, he distributed these by the hands of disciples sent out, two by two, to teach and to preach. Poverty and simplicity of religious ceremony were the distinctive marks of the Waldensians. They did not spare the reputation of the clergy, and being subjected to persecution, appealed to Pope Alexander III., who approved their poverty but condemned them for preaching. The time had not come for sanctioning an irregular ministry. A few years later, at the Council of Verona, Pope Lucius III. excommunicated them as heretics. This condemnation, however, did not end their progress. They were charged with holding that the authority of popes and prelates should be repudiated, that laymen and women could preach, that masses for the dead were useless, and that prayers were as efficacious in a private room as in a church. These Poor Men had undoubtedly characteristics which were reproduced in the Minorites, and Francis could not have been ignorant of their ways, seeing that Assisi was no isolated village, and Bernardine, at anyrate, would carry home the news gathered as he travelled from place to place.

Dominic, on his part, was probably influenced by them, as by the more violent sectaries, to make use of preaching as a means to strengthen the power of the Church. The Waldensians, like the Puritans of England, were earnest men; but their religion banished joy, and so their progress was limited.

The most noted sect was the Cathari, sometimes styled Patarines in Italy, known as Albigenses in Languedoc. Tinctured with Manichæism, they were hardly to be called Christians. Such as they were, they marked a fierce opposition to the Church, rather than a return to primitive Christianity. In the seventh century Manichæism, modified into Paulicianism through St. Paul's teaching regarding sin, was formulated into the creed of an Eastern sect. The Paulicians multiplied with extraordinary rapidity, and, according to Gibbon, "shook the East and enlightened the West." Under persecution many found their way to Europe, where they spread their doctrines. After a long period of eventful history Paulicianism, at the close of the twelfth century, had conquered what is now Southern France.

In creed, ethic, ritual, and ecclesiastical government the Cathari were opposed to the Church. They made an eternal dualism and conflict between the alleged coequal principles of good and evil, between God and Satan. Satan was the Jehovah of the Old Testament, and therefore that book was to be rejected. The New Testament was to be received, though, in spite of its representations, Christ was a mere phantasm. In consequence of matter being essentially evil, marriage was all but forbidden, and animal food, for its grossness, was avoided. Sacraments, images, crosses found no place in the ritual, while a new ceremony, the Baptism of the Spirit, removed all sin. The organisation of the sect was peculiar to itself. From among the "Perfect," a spiritual aristocracy, four classes of officers were chosen to carry on the government.

The Albigenses, named from the territory of the

Albigeois, or, more generally, the Cathari, were pre-eminently the heretics in the eyes of Churchmen, and even of the Waldensians; and Innocent, in his day of power, determined to crush them. They were zealous in their missionary efforts, preaching their distinctive doctrines and inveighing against the Church, and while the pope was resolving on their destruction, Azevedo and Dominic opposed them with the orthodox faith. As early as 1119 Calixtus II. condemned the Cathari as heretics. In 1139, at the second Lateran Council, Innocent II. called upon the temporal powers to crush them; and Pope Alexander III., at Tours in 1163, ordered all prelates to anathematise those trafficking with them, and required secular authorities to imprison them, confiscating their property. At the third Lateran Council a crusade was inaugurated, but came to nothing. Shortly after Innocent III. ascended the papal throne active measures were begun. Legates, Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, Cistercian monks, joined by Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, were sent to Languedoc to rouse the Churchmen to persecuting zeal.

Eager to uphold ecclesiastical authority, and having the support of the papal power, they yet failed to stir the prelates, who were content to draw their revenues; and the story of the Church's weakness would have been illustrated once more had not the legates in 1206 come into contact with Azevedo and Dominic. "Heresy," said Innocent, in spite of his cruel policy, "can only be destroyed by solid instruction; it is by preaching the truth that we sap the foundations of error." Inspired by this idea, if not by these words, the legates, with Azevedo and Dominic, carried on public disputations, preached in the churches, and held con-

ferences in private houses. Zealous in work and persistent in humility, they made many conversions. Dominic, his biographers relate, was a powerful preacher, and the heretics, counting him their most dangerous enemy, threatened his life. Miracles attended his manhood, as they had been about his youth. The heretics, we are told in the legend, paid no heed to the Feast of St. John the Baptist; and Dominic threatened a sign of divine anger to certain men who on the feast-day were working in a field. When one of them would have made an attack on the preacher, the ears of corn were seen to be filled as with blood. Thereupon the men fell down and made confession of their sin, and shortly afterwards were reconciled to the Church. Many conventional miracles, such as this, were attributed to Dominic, but they afford no indication of his character.

At this period Dominic took the important step of organising at Prouille a convent for women. The heretics had established religious houses in which they educated the daughters of nobles, who were glad to avail themselves of instruction; and Dominic, after the manner of these men, opened the house at Prouille, in order that his female converts might be freed from temptation to heresy. The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Toulouse, to whom the scheme was made known, contributed liberally to the building of the convent; and in 1218 Honorius III. recognised this association of women as the Second Order of Dominic. The members, who were to live obedient to a severe monastic rule, came in course of time to devote themselves chiefly to the education of girls.

The preachers who laboured among the heretics,

zealous though they were, found themselves unequal to their task. With papal permission, therefore, they ordained competent men, wherever they could be found, and thus was associated, not an Order, but a company to meet heretical with orthodox doctrine. While many of the Cathari were restored to the faith, real progress was slow, since the charge was constantly preferred that clerics, high and low, were everywhere disgracing their calling.

What might have been the result of this mission none can tell, as it was completely overshadowed by the crusade inaugurated for the violent suppression of the Albigenses. The legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered in 1208, and Raymond, Count of Toulouse, suspected of sympathy with the Albigenses, and inefficient, in the eyes of the Church, as a destroyer of heretics, was charged with complicity in the murder. Innocent, full of wrath, did not lose the opportunity of calling on the faithful to avenge the death of the legate. A crusade was preached, and not in vain. Carnage began, and the victims were numbered by tens of thousands. The king of France did not himself become a soldier of the Church, but his nobles, and among these Simon de Montfort, led their troops against the enemies of their religion. The war was the most cruel and bloody that ever disgraced the Church; and the teaching of the merciful Son of Mary was despised. For the king of France, however, the crusade was more than the battle of the Church: it was a long campaign which resulted in the acquisition of vast territories.

Little is known of Dominic's career during the years of the crusade. An early biographer wrote: "After

the return of the Bishop Diego to his diocese St. Dominic, left almost alone with a few companions who were bound to him by no vow, during ten years upheld the Catholic faith in different parts of Narbonne, especially at Carcassonne and Fanjeaux. He devoted himself entirely to the salvation of souls by the ministry of preaching, and he bore with a great heart a multitude of affronts, ignominies, and sufferings for the name of Jesus Christ." Again, it is told how on one occasion he was at the mercy of certain men who sought to kill him. Asked afterwards what he would have done had they attacked him, he replied: "I would have prayed you not to take my life at a single blow, but little by little, cutting off each member of my body, one by one; and when you had done that, you should have plucked out my eyes, and then have left me so, to prolong my torments and gain me a richer crown." Fanatical though the teller of this story was, he illustrated the bravery of Dominic's character, which was real; and at the same time spoke according to the common belief, that through much physical tribulation one might enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Contemporary documents are few which afford definite information regarding the first years of Dominic's missionary labour. There is an absolution of 1207 showing, from the signature with the addition prædicator minimus, that in that year he was entitled to sign himself a preacher. From a writing of 1208, a penance for one of the Cathari seeking admission into the Church, it may be gathered that he was then at work among the heretics. The penance required that on three successive Sundays the man should be scourged by a priest, that he should fast at definite

times from various foods, hear mass and recite a specified number of prayers daily, be chaste in conduct, and wear monastic garments decorated with the cross. Another document, said to be among the archives of Carcassonne, is witnessed by "Brother Dominic, Canon of Osma and humble preacher," and bears that the Bishop of Cahors in 1211 paid homage to the Count de Montfort.

The historians of the Order imply that the victory of the Count de Montfort, at the famous battle of Muret in 1213, was due to the prayers of Dominic; or, as others say, to his encouragement of the soldiers by holding aloft a crucifix. The constant tradition is that Dominic was with the crusaders; but the silence of history may be taken as proof that he did nothing extraordinary throughout the time when the heretics were massacred in multitudes.

It is stated, but with insufficient evidence, that thrice during this period Dominic refused episcopal office. While the accounts of his success as a preacher are exaggerated, it may be conjectured from what is known of his character that he laboured with zeal, fasting and praying, showing humility and inflicting self-punishment, and using the noblest means, as then understood, to call back the wanderers to the fold. His work attracted the attention of Pierre Cella, a wealthy citizen of Toulouse, who in 1214 presented a house for use as a school for the education of preachers. For the support of this house, and the purchase of books, certain tithes were designed by the local bishop; and when Dominic and his companions took up their abode in it an important step was taken towards the formation of the Order.

Some of the older historians relate that, prior to the

year 1214, Dominic founded the famous office of the Inquisition, and became the first inquisitor-general. The ground for this assertion is a bull of Sixtus v., which refers to him as inquisitor under Innocent III. and Honorius III. His character, however, does not suggest that he was guilty of the severity which established the Inquisition. Piety wanders in strange directions, and zeal for the Lord's house not seldom eats up humaneness; yet Dominic's piety would not have directed him to the slaughter of his religious enemies, if some of the alleged miracles indexed his character. These miracles displayed a pitiful and humane man, and were in fact palpable imitations of the Lord's. Jordan, his early biographer, has no mention of the Inquisition. When summing up Dominic's work among the heretics, he wrote: "During the time that the crusaders were in the country the blessed Dominic continued there, diligently preaching the word of God, until the death of the Count de Montfort." The Inquisition was certainly not organised till after the death of Dominic; and, during the period of his missionary labour in the south of France, there is no indication that Churchmen possessed the legal power of ordaining the punishment of torture or death. It is probable, however, that Dominic had a title belonging to bishops, and granted to legates and special commissioners, to assign ecclesiastical punishment. The notoriety gained by the Dominicans in connection with the Inquisition doubtless suggested to fanatical chroniclers that Dominic himself earned the glory of destroying enemies of the faith.

The Bollandists are among those who associate Dominic with the Inquisition, quoting Thomas Aquinas

as justifying the burning of heretics. There is, however, no document to prove that he ever received a commission as inquisitor; and if the Lateran Council in 1215 did grant such a commission, it is to be noted that by that year his labours in Languedoc were almost finished. In 1217, in a speech at Prouille, quoted by Lacordaire, he used words which, while manifesting pitiless anger, do not suggest that his own labours had been marked by violence. "For many years," he said, "I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, and tears; but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold, now, we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms! Many shall perish by the sword. The land shall be ravaged, walls thrown down; and you, alas! reduced to slavery. So shall the chastisement do that which the blessing and which mildness could not do." The speech gives truth to Dante's characterisation—

> "Therein the zealous lover was revealed
> Of Christ's true faith, the athlete consecrate,
> Kind to her friends, to those who hate her steeled."

According to the legend, Dominic, appointed inquisitor-general in Spain, organised the punishment of Jews and Moors lapsing from the Christian faith into which they had been forced, and watched on one occasion the burning of three hundred victims. Leaving Spain, he passed to Italy by Aragon and France, establishing the Inquisition in these countries, and commissioning Conrad of Marburg to organise it in Germany.

Noticeable in the history of Catholic devotion is the introduction of the rosary, with which Dominic's name has been associated. Controversy has been busy with the claim made for the saint. There seems sufficient reason, however, to trace back to his institution the use of the rosary so prevalent in the Order. The story of the introduction is thus told in a recent biography: "We read that when he was preaching to the Albigenses, St. Dominic at first obtained but scanty success; and that one day, complaining of this in pious prayer to our Blessed Lady, she deigned to reply to him, saying, 'Wonder not that until now you have obtained so little fruit by your labours; you have spent them on a barren soil, not yet watered with the dew of divine grace. When God willed to renew the face of the earth, He began by sending down on it the fertilising rain of the angelic salutation. Therefore preach my Psalter, composed of one hundred and fifty angelic salutations and fifteen Our Fathers, and you will obtain an abundant harvest.'"

Dominic and his companions, when they took possession of the house gifted to them in Toulouse, followed the Rule, as they wore the habit, of canons regular. His purpose was to found an Order of preachers who should be trained in theology. Learned though he himself was, after long study in his early years, he did not become the teacher of his companions, but placed them under a theologian lecturing in Toulouse. Further support was given by De Montfort, who bestowed on the companions the revenues from a house and lands.

Dominic's determination to institute an Order re-

quired papal sanction, and that sanction he resolved to seek in 1215, when the Lateran Council was sitting in Rome. Individuals like Arnold of Brescia, and missionaries like the Waldensians, had come into direct contact with the hearts and minds of the people, and had not trusted to the authority of an institution or the mystic influence of an elaborate ritual. The Church, on the other hand, amidst the political schemes of popes and the worldly interests of priests, had left unheeded the command to preach the gospel. Preaching was at once the special function and duty of the bishops, and though it could be delegated they seldom preached and seldom appointed others to the duty. In the periods when heresy was rife, the prelates, as a rule, lived as temporal princes, seeking the supremacy of the Church or trying to extend its glory by the splendour of cathedrals and abbeys. Scandalous living had soiled the reputation of many, and the best were filled with the idea of political power. They had little interest in the welfare of the people, and were too few, even had they all been preachers, to fill the pulpits of Christendom. The parish priests were performers of the ritual devised to bring the truths of Christianity before the worshippers, and ignorant performers they too often were. The growth of the sects and the spread of heresy were the eloquent witnesses of the neglect of duty; and never did monk or priest render service to the Church and to religion more signal than that of Dominic when he resolved that preaching should not be left to heretics and sectarians.

As early as 1031 the Council of Limoges had decided that preaching should not be confined to churches where

the bishops could occasionally officiate. At Avignon, in 1209, when heresy was rampant, the bishops were instructed to be diligent in preaching, and to secure men fit to be instructors of religion; and in the Lateran Council of 1215, before the significance of Dominic's scheme was apparent, it was enacted that the bishops, who should not and could not be the only preachers, should provide men competent for the work. Thus did the Church recognise the need of preaching, but it did nothing to educate men in theology or train them as speakers. Innocent had approved the plan of Durand of Huesca, who instituted the Poor Catholics, to do inside the Church the evangelising work which the Poor Men of Lyons were doing outside. Durand, who had been a Waldensian leader, was brought back to the Church after a disputation in which the Bishop of Osma, and probably Dominic, took part. Devoting himself after his conversion to a life of poverty, chastity, and severe self-discipline, he gathered round him men fitted to preach; but sanctioned though it was by Innocent, the mission did not commend itself to the prelates in Southern France, who looked with disdain on zealots intruding into their province, and charged them with being Waldensians in heart, in spite of their profession. After the battle of Muret the situation was altered, and Dominic took advantage of the change. He saw that the Poor Catholics had a true conception of missionary work, and if he did not imitate them, he and his Order at least succeeded them. Filled with their spirit and living in their simplicity, he went further, and had his associates specially trained to preach. Orthodoxy was to be armed to meet heresy. This was the plan of Dominic,

but it interfered with an episcopal function, and difficulties had to be removed before the papal sanction could be gained.

Dominic was welcomed in Rome by the pope and prelates, as he had laboured among the heretics whose case constituted an important reason for holding the Lateran Council. Very easily he obtained a decree for placing the Convent of Prouille under the protection of the papal see. The sanction of a new Order, however, was not to be had for the asking. The Council had issued a decree against the foundation of new Orders; but a vision, repeating the scene in which Francis appeared, showed Innocent the Lateran Basilica supported by a man whom he recognised as Dominic. The vision was enough, and the crave of Dominic's petition was granted, with the limitation that he and his friends, while pursuing their special plans, should ally themselves to one of the existing Orders. Innocent is credited with suggesting the name Brothers Preachers, which was afterwards adopted. To carry out the instruction, Dominic chose the Rule of Augustine, as its simplicity allowed the Preachers to pursue the object for which they had associated. Besides, Augustine was a scholar, and his name was attractive to men desirous of theological learning. Monastic discipline, with its fasting and poverty, was to be practised, and regulations were made in regard to study and the government of the schools.

The Brothers numbered sixteen, and, strange to say, represented the nationalities of Castile, Normandy, France, Languedoc, England, and Germany. An abbot was chosen, the first and only one; and then the

organisation was changed, and provincial friars, with a general-master, were appointed. Very early in their history, in 1217, the Brothers disputed about certain tithes. This dispute, which occurred during Dominic's absence, did not imply a violation of the oath of poverty. The Brothers Preachers had taken no such vow, though some of the old chroniclers would have us believe that at this stage certain properties, which the friars could not hold, were transferred to the nuns of Prouille.

Having chosen the Augustinian Rule, and established the Brothers in their first convent, Dominic set out for Rome, to present himself to the pope. Before he reached the city, however, he learned that Innocent had died at Perugia, and Honorius III. now sat on the papal throne. Honorius adhered to the policy of his predecessor, and granted in 1216 a bull constituting the Order by taking it under the protection of St. Peter and the Bishop of Rome, and confirming it in its lands, churches, and revenues.

A shorter bull is also declared by the Dominicans to have been issued at the same time. It is as follows: "Honorius, Bishop, . . . we, considering that the brethren of your Order will be the champions of the faith and true light of the world, do confirm the Order in all its lands and possessions present and to come; and we take the Order itself, with all its goods and rights, under our protection and government." This bull, with its praise of the friars, could not have been granted in 1216. In 1296, at a chapter of the Order, it was ordained that it should be borne by the friars in proof of their mission, and probably was prepared for this purpose.

Dominic returned to Toulouse in 1217, and at once entrusted special work to the Brothers, so that they should not be mere recluses. One of his first concerns was to choose men for a mission to Paris, the chief seat of theological learning; and others he sent to Spain. In subsequent years convents were established in Oxford and Bologna, noted as university cities. The house in Toulouse was left almost empty when the missions were organised, though spiritual recruits soon occupied it, and in turn were sent forth as preachers. Dominic himself did not remain in Toulouse, as he was anxious to establish a convent in Rome. When he arrived, Honorius welcomed him, bestowing on him the use of the Church of St. Sixtus, afterwards the centre of the first Dominican monastery in Rome. The church was subsequently transferred to the nuns of Trastevere, and Dominic took possession of the Church of St. Sabina, attached to the palace of the Savelli, to which family the pope belonged. Success crowned his labours, inasmuch as many joined him as friars, and his preaching was a victorious campaign. At this period an office was created for him. In the papal palace the servants of the cardinals and others were in the habit of loitering while awaiting their masters. To these servants he turned his attention, suggesting to the pope that spiritual instruction should be given. Honorius agreed, appointing him Master of the Sacred Palace, and giving him permission not only to preach to the loiterers, but also to deliver formal lectures to the members of the Court. Thus was constituted the office of Master of the Palace, which has continued to be filled by Dominicans.

According to tradition, a Third Order, bearing the

name of Dominic, was at this time established. The members of the First Order were friars, those of the Second nuns, while the Third constituted a company for the defence of the Church. This Militia of Jesus Christ, thus it was styled, was formed when the Polish bishops, in 1218, appealed to Honorius for protection against the Prussians. On the other hand, we are assured by tradition that Dominic, seeing the Albigenses appropriating ecclesiastical property, had already declared in favour of armed protectors of the Church. At a later period, when force was no longer needed for the Church, the militia was changed into the Order of Penance of St. Dominic, and women were received as members. Its purpose was to infuse piety into social life, to practice penance and charity, and to realise monastic ideals amidst the business of the day.

Another version is given of the foundation of the Third Order.

In 1209 the members of a military society, the Militia Christi, attached themselves to Dominic, then labouring among the Albigenses. They undertook the defence of the Church; and women were associated, who engaged in special religious exercises. The society increased, spreading as far as to Italy; and in due time, when military aid to the Church was no longer required, it became the Third Order of St. Dominic. Whatever may have been the beginning of that Order, there is distinct evidence of its existence about the year 1230, and it is possible that it may have been organised in imitation of the Franciscan association.

Nicholas IV., in 1289, attempted to place the Dominican society and other associations of a like kind under the superintendence of the Minorites.

Doubtless the pope, who had been the Franciscan minister-general, hoped to increase the importance of his Order; but the Dominicans, who were strong, would not countenance the scheme, and it failed.

Dominic, having carried out the work of erecting a convent at Rome, was not forgetful of the various settlements which had been elsewhere established; and, like a father mindful of his sons, went to Spain, the south of France, Paris, and Bologna. The new Order had justified itself, and many of the scholars of the universities consequently joined it, convinced of the need of the Church becoming a teaching institution. He is represented as having planned for himself a mission to Africa. Such a mission, while it may have been thought necessary by biographers jealous of St. Francis with his journey to Egypt, was not according to Dominic's first aim, to attack heresy at home. His progress from place to place is represented by his biographers as a conspicuous success, marked by many conversions and signal miracles; and such was the zeal of the preacher, that we may well accept the story of the conversions. "He preached," says Jordan, "by night and by day in houses, in the fields, and by the roadside." His theme was the mysteries of the rosary, the life and passion of Christ. Miracles were numerous, and of all kinds. By the application of a little mud he mended the torn garments of a Franciscan walking with him. He promised rain when a long drought was causing distress in the district of Segovia, and before his sermon was ended there was a plentiful shower. He foretold the death of an insolent councillor who spoke evil of him. He turned water into wine, as his Lord

had done. In a fit of passion he killed a cock which disturbed him at his study, and in his penitence his fervent prayer restored it to life. He was able to cure a woman stricken by a fever, by causing her to eat a portion of an eel over which the sign of the cross had been made.

In the year 1220 the first chapter of the Order was held at Bologna, a fitting place of meeting for a learned Brotherhood. An important resolution was taken: it was determined that all possessions should be renounced, that the customs of poverty should be adopted, and all property not absolutely necessary for the use of the Order should be given to the nuns of Prouille. The Dominicans in their first years had accepted gifts, and in 1218 a papal recognition of their property was issued. Dominic himself received three churches from the Bishop of Toulouse. The adoption of the principle of stern poverty was made, there is no reason to doubt, in imitation of the practice of the Franciscans. It is unnecessary to suggest any rivalry, but Dominic was not ignorant of the reverence which Francis was inspiring, and was wise enough to see that by poverty his own preachers would command respect.

The friars of Toulouse in vain objected to the innovation, and in 1228 the resolutions of 1220 were formally included in the Constitution of the Order. A change in the habit was also sanctioned at the chapter of 1228. At first the dress was that of the Canons Regular, but owing to a vision of one of the Brothers a new habit was adopted. Brother Reginald was sick, and one day Dominic prayed earnestly for his recovery. While he was still suffering, the Virgin with two young maidens of surpassing beauty appeared to him, and

Mary said: "Ask me what thou wilt, and I will give it thee." One of the maidens suggested that he should ask nothing, but trust to the pleasure of the Virgin, who, after granting certain spiritual blessings, showed him the habit of the Preachers, saying: "Behold the habit of thy Order." One of the Dominican biographers writes: "After the heavenly vision aforesaid, and the showing of the habit, the blessed Dominic and the other brethren laid aside the use of surplice, and took in its place as a distinctive portion of the habit the white scapular, retaining the black mantle which they wore over their white tunics as Canons Regular."

After the meeting of the chapter, Dominic journeyed through Italy, and in the course of his wanderings reached Cremona, where, according to one legend, he met Francis and Clara. Another legend declares that the two saints met in Rome in 1215, but the evidence is insufficient, as there is no certainty that Francis was in Italy in that year. The story is that while Dominic was praying in the Basilica of St. Peter he saw the figure of Christ holding three arrows, with which He was about to punish the world for its wickedness. Mary was then seen to present two men to her Son, who should convert sinners and appease His wrath, and the next day Dominic recognised Francis as one of the two men of the vision. "You are my comrade," he said, "you will go with me; let us keep together, and nothing shall prevail against us." According to a Franciscan account, the two met in Rome, when Dominic persuaded Francis to give him his cord with which he girded himself, suggesting at the same time that their religion should be one, and

that there should be union between them. Francis would not listen to the suggestion; he would continue in his poverty and his freedom.

At Cremona, as related in the Dominican legend, the two saints lodged together, and water was brought from a well which had become unfit for use. They were asked to bless it, and there was a contest which should yield to the other. The modesty of Francis prevailed, and Dominic gave the blessing. In the *Little Flowers* it is related that Dominic was present at the meeting known as the "Chapter of the Trellises." Francis commanded the Brothers to take no thought of the needs of the body, but to trust for everything to God. There were some thousands in attendance, and yet the people of the surrounding cities supplied all their wants, inspired by the "Chief Shepherd, Christ, the Blessed One." Dominic, who at first thought Francis indiscreet, witnessed all that happened, and was moved to make this confession: "Of a truth God hath especial care of these holy poor little ones, and I knew it not; and from now henceforth I promise to observe the holy gospel poverty; and in the name of God I curse all the Brothers of my Order who in the said Order shall presume to hold property." This legend has evidently grown out of the fact that the Dominicans in their chapter of 1220 adopted the custom of absolute poverty.

The fatigues, vigils, and fastings of a busy life wore out the strength of a man who thought it impious to pay heed to his body, and in 1221, in the fifty-first year of his age, Dominic died. He had walked from Venice to Bologna, careless of the heat of an August sun, and with strength failing through the poison of

fever he entered the Convent of St. Nicholas. There he refused the comfort of a bed, and lay on matting on the floor. The Brothers gathered around him he addressed, saying: "Have charity, guard humility, and make you treasure out of voluntary poverty." Hoping to save him, some of them carried him to a house on a hill outside the city; but nothing could be done, beyond the administration of the last rites of his religion. He wished to be buried beside his Brothers. "God forbid," he said, "that I should be buried anywhere save under the feet of my brethren." According to another version, he died in the bed of one of the friars, as he had no bed of his own, and he was dressed in a gown which he had borrowed.

Cardinal Ugolini performed the burial service, in the Church of St. Nicholas, Bologna, and wrote this epitaph over the tomb—

"Here lies the body of the venerable servant of God, Dominic de Guzman, born at Calaruega in Spain, in the diocese of Osma; founder of the Order of Friars Preachers, of which he was made first master-general by Honorius III., and confirmed in that dignity by the suffrages of his brethren, in the chapters held here in Bologna in 1220 and 1221. On the 30th of May of the latter year he was declared a citizen of Bologna, together with all others who should succeed him as master-general of the Order. He slept in our Lord at noon on Friday, August 6, 1221, under the pontificate of Honorius III., and I, Ugolini, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and Apostolic Legate, after having celebrated his obsequies, have herewith by our hands placed his venerable body. May the name of the Lord be praised for ever!"

Signs of divine approbation were said not to be wanting. At a translation of the body, when the coffin was opened those standing near declared they were conscious of an exquisite odour. Three hundred years after the first translation, a writer declared, "this divine odour adheres to the relics even to the present day." There is one legend, obviously an imitation of the story of Francis, that in a grotto in Segovia, Dominic received the stigmata.

Chroniclers of the Order tell that one of the friars saw the Saviour and the Virgin drawing up a golden ladder which had been let down from heaven. On the ladder was a man, with face hidden by his cowl, who in this fashion was being raised from the earth. The hour of the friar's vision was the hour of Dominic's death.

Dominic's habits of pious life, according to his biographers, were severe to the last degree. He kept an almost continual fast, wore the poorest raiment, and never slept in a bed, but lay on the bare ground or on a plank. Little time was given to sleep, and hours taken from sleep were spent before the altar, where he would offer with his prayers the sacrifice of his own blood, scourged from his body.

Dominic founded his Order and lived to see its success. At the date of the second chapter, four years after the first mission had been sent out, sixty convents had been established in the provinces of Spain, Provence, France, England, Germany, Hungary, Lombardy, Romagnuola. Great though the work of the founder had been, he was not immediately canonised. The canonisation of Francis and Antony of Padua, in each case, took place within two years after the death. Yet

thirteen years passed before the Church paid its highest tribute to the work of Dominic; and it has been argued that there is proof in this that his influence on his contemporaries was not the strongest. Apart from saintship, he deserves honour. In an age when the people were ignorant of the Bible, when the priests of the Church were dumb, he trained men to preach, and he himself preached, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Though honour was slow to crown him after his death, superstition and reverence together were ultimately to pay adoration to his name. His mother was recognised as a saint, and in 1320 a prince of Castile obtained her body to increase the sanctity of a Dominican convent which he had founded. The remains of his father had to be concealed from the adoration of admirers of the saint, who prized as holy everything related to him. So great was the veneration attaching to his name, that the font in which he was baptized was preserved and ultimately taken to the Dominican Convent of Madrid, where it continued to be used at the baptisms of the royal infants.

In the work of Dominic there was no originality, and he, earnest indeed to the last degree, was no self-reliant personality eager for an unconventional ideal. His ardent faith in the moral value of obedience made him useful to the Roman Curia, and he was able to prove himself a faithful servant by accepting the Augustinian Rule. Innocent, it is true, had little opportunity of knowing his character, but Honorius, probably at the instigation of Ugolini, took care to attach him to the papal Court.

There was no magnetic power of love in Dominic to draw men to him, even while zeal and goodness

directed his labours. He lacked the one thing needful, whatever it was, which Francis had, to make captive the heart. Yet the biographers, doubtless moved by the stories of Francis, have endeavoured to prove him like unto Christ. A recent biography illustrates the attempt to mark a physical resemblance between him and the Saviour: "Although several so-called portraits are preserved, yet none of them can be regarded as the *vera effigies* of the saint, though that preserved at Santa Sabina probably presents us with a kind of traditionary likeness. If we compare this with the engraved gem which professes to be the true portrait of Jesus Christ a certain resemblance may be traced between them, especially in the straight line of the nose and forehead, which, according to the rules of Greek art, was deemed to belong to the highest type of humanity."

That which has been specially imitated, however, in the biographies of the saint is the miraculous power of Christ. Sinlessness, constant prayer, unwearied vigils, degradation of the body, have been ascribed to a multitude of saints, but to this man, in special manner, have been assigned wonders after the pattern of the New Testament miracles. Signs were given to show that God was on his side, that heaven and earth ministered to his necessities; yet the characteristic of his legend is the imitation of the deeds peculiar to Christ.

At Bologna on one occasion bread was scarce for the Brothers, and after the saint had raised his eyes and his heart to heaven there appeared two beautiful youths with baskets of the whitest loaves, which they distributed. On another occasion, when he had no

money to pay his fare for crossing a river, he prayed, and instantly there was a coin at his feet. As the Lord had increased bread for the multitude, so did Dominic cut two small loaves in pieces for a large number of Brothers, and the morsels were more than enough for their wants. Wine, too, was supplied in a vessel, in which before his prayer there had not been a drop. A youth who fell from a roof and was killed was restored to life, and this youth's mother being sick of a fever was healed. Three Sisters in a convent, whom he did not see, he ordered to be cured, and at the command they rose in perfect health.

By miracles such as these his biographers have tried to show his likeness to Christ. Had he been the stern suppressor of heretics, their violent destroyer, it is more than likely that the wonders would have taken another form; and though we reject one and all of the supernatural deeds attributed to him, we may surmise from their record that he was not a violent inquisitor, even though we dare not say that he had in special degree the loving-kindness of Christ.

The Franciscan extravagance of sentiment which produced the *Book of Conformities* had a parallel in the fanaticism which made Dominic one with Christ. The Dominican who wrote the life of Catharine of Siena represented the Eternal as producing Christ from His head and Dominic from His breast, and as declaring the equality of the two.

It is not Dominic's character that has impressed itself on history: it is his policy which has caused his influence to live. He was not the first to suggest that the Church should send out preachers to oppose heresy; but it was he who saw that men, skilled in debate,

equipped with knowledge as well as furnished with enthusiasm, and ready to be obedient to ecclesiastical rule, were the men to serve the Church from the attacks of heretics. And not merely did he seize an idea, propound a scheme; he had the genius for organising, and, true to his idea of a learned ministry, gathered men around him for study, arranged for the education of others, and sent his disciples or scholars forth into the world. It is impossible that without persuasive and convincing powers of some kind he could have attracted men to his Order; but the scheme which he set forth was precisely that to commend itself to intellectual and spiritual men anxious for the great institution of the Church which to their thinking was divinely built. The scheme was destined to affect the whole later medieval religious movement; and though the Dominicans, especially through their connection with the Inquisition, acquired a reputation which was not altogether one of holiness, yet the founder of the Order was wise when he taught that heresy must be met with learning and educated wisdom, and strong when he organised a company of men trained in theology and sent them forth to meet the critics and enemies of the Church.

CHAPTER V

Progress of the Orders

"Silent and soft is poverty's step," sang Giacopone di Todi. The rise of the mendicants marked a religious revival, and inaugurated a mission which extended the bounds of the Church. The founders of monastic Orders had retired with pious companions from the world, and excluded themselves from the life of the people. Francis and Dominic sought to free themselves from worldly cares and pleasures alike, when they embraced poverty; but recognising the need of a mission to the spiritually destitute, sent their friars into the villages and cities. Religion was popularised, and passed beyond the confines of the cloister. The object was the same, to create and foster piety in the individual, but the method and sphere of the two saints were different. Francis turned to the poor and unlettered, to whom he determined the gospel should be preached, not by learned but by pious men. Dominic trained his friars in theology, preparing them for service among the richer and more intelligent classes, and fixing his principal houses in the university cities. The rise of the mendicants was, says Baur, "the practical declaration that even the monks had not acquitted themselves of their task until, while remaining true to their fundamental positions, they had ceased to live

for themselves, and after the manner of the apostles had striven to labour in the world for the purposes of the Gospel." The Benedictines, to take an example, were wealthy, cultured, exclusive, with no neighbours to tend. They looked first to their own spiritual welfare, and sought through contemplation to reach God, through asceticism ordered and limited to merit salvation. Such service as was done was rendered to the Church and her priests and friends. The Cistercians, to take another example, when reformation had restored purity and quickened piety, indulged in contemplation of the life of Christ, but restricted their imitation to the convent. Bernard, indeed, went forth into the world to preach a crusade, to attack a heretic, to direct a pope, but returned to the solitude of Clairvaux, where his religion was as strait as his cell. The mendicant like the monk pursued contemplation as a business of the soul, but contemplation led him to activity in imitation of Christ. Asceticism, too, was not altogether excluded. But no cloister seclusion was to impede the mission to sinners. Thus did the friar widen the sphere of the piety of the monk, passing beyond the monastery to serve his neighbour, to seek the lost that he might be saved; and thus did imitation of Christ attain a richer meaning. The friar, too, taught the laymen that they also had a mission to men and women around them, even while they heeded the things of their own souls; and so the kingdom of God was advanced.

Hallam expressed an uninformed opinion of his day when he wrote: "These great reformers, who have produced so extraordinary an effect upon mankind, were of very different characters: the one, active and ferocious, had taken a prominent part in the crusade

against the unfortunate Albigeois, and was among the first who bore the terrible name of inquisitor; whilst the other, a harmless enthusiast, pious and sincere, but hardly of sane mind, was much rather accessory to the intellectual than to the moral degradation of his species." Ferocious misrepresents the character of the man who laboured for the welfare of the Albigeois before the crusade was inaugurated, and who still laboured during the crusade, preaching the love of God and salvation through His Son. Francis was not mad. Bonaventura wrote: "Who can form a conception of the fervour and the love of Francis, the friend of Christ? You would have said that he was burned up by divine love, like charcoal in the flames." But Bonaventura was a Franciscan and medieval. A modern English writer, a master of criticism, free from religious enthusiasms, has spoken of the "profound popular instinct which enabled Francis, more than any man since the primitive age, to fit religion for popular use. He brought religion to the people. He founded the most popular body of ministers of religion that has ever existed in the Church. He tranformed monachism by uprooting the stationary monk, delivering him from the bondage of property, and sending him, as a mendicant friar, to be a stranger and sojourner, not in the wilderness, but in the most crowded haunts of men, to console them and do them good. The popular instinct of his is at the bottom of his famous marriage with poverty. Poverty and suffering are the condition of the people, the multitude, the immense majority of mankind: and it was towards this *people* that his soul yearned. "He listens," it was said, "to those to whom God Himself will not listen."

Machiavelli, living amidst intellectual and spiritual influences very different from those around Matthew Arnold, declared in one of his discourses that Christianity would have been almost extinct "if Francis and Dominic had not renewed it and replaced it in the heart of men by poverty and the example of Jesus Christ. They saved religion, which the Church had destroyed."

Francis saw, as clearly as Dominic, that a remedy was needed for the malady attacking religion; and though he had no plan for refuting heresy, he sought to overcome worldliness and sin by inducing men to live in imitation of Christ. Filled with the love of Christ, he went to people such as those who heard Christ gladly, and they received him with joy. In the noble sense he was a popular preacher, proclaiming a gospel for the poor and desolate, for the simple and unlettered; and while he taught, he did what he would have others do. Dominic was a preacher of a different kind, from character and training. Men, too, listened to him, and religion was quickened.

Many of the Franciscans, especially in the early years of the Order, were unlettered, yet filled with an enthusiasm which captivated the poor, among whom they laboured. Formality was banished from their religious services, and in their simplicity they carried horns to summon the people to worship. The Dominicans, on the other hand, were generally associated with churches, and followed the recognised ritual. They furnished the most noted preachers of the thirteenth century, and the extent of their influence is illustrated by the fact that in 1273 there were sixty preachers in Paris, of whom thirty were Dominicans.

In the revival inspired by the two Orders, religion was brought home to the hearts of individual men and women; and labouring, as the friars did, under the authority of the pope, they fostered the interest of their hearers, not in priests or bishops, but in the Church of which the Roman Bishop claimed to be the head, so that it became to them as the visible kingdom of God. It was of no mean advantage to the cause of religion in the thirteenth century that seekers for truth were not bereft of their faith in the Church. To these it stood as an institution worthy of honour, and the pope was revered as the true vicar of Christ when he commissioned the mendicants to go to men and women and tell them of the love of God and the mercy of Christ. Apostles in earlier centuries had consecrated their labours to the conversion of the Jew and the Gentile; but it was a new thing within Christendom itself for missionaries to seek the lost and bring them to Christ. The mendicants, indeed, saved the Church from destruction following in the train of worldly policy, and spared Christendom a revolution for which it was not prepared. Rome was not yet ready to depart from that policy, and Boniface VIII. was to come. Political supremacy was not, however, the one sole plan of the Church in the middle of the thirteenth century, and evangelistic work was added to ecclesiastical business. But apart from institutions and policies, it is of outstanding importance in the history of Christianity that the mendicants helped men to know themselves responsible to God, and to recognise themselves as more than parts of a society finding God through ritual alone.

In the dreams of Francis, it is said, was the vision of

a brotherhood with members from all nations; but a powerful Order, dominated by the Bishop of Rome, was not among his ideals. One morning, the Three Companions relate, he called the small fraternity together, saying: "Take courage, and shelter yourselves in God. Be not depressed to think how few we are. Be not alarmed either at your own weakness or at mine. God has revealed to me that He will diffuse through the earth this our little family, of which He is Himself the Father. I would have concealed what I have seen, but love constrains me to impart it to you. I have seen a great multitude coming to us, to wear our dress, to live as we do. I have seen all the roads crowded with men travelling in eager haste towards us. The French are coming. The Spaniards are hastening. The English and the Germans are running. All nations are mingling together. I hear the tread of the numbers who go and come to execute the commands of holy obedience. . . . We seem contemptible and insane. But fear not. Believe that our Saviour, Who has overcome the world, will speak effectually in us. If gold should lie in our way, let us value it as the dust beneath our feet. We will not, however, condemn or despise the rich who live softly and are arrayed sumptuously. God, who is our Master, is theirs also. But go and preach repentance for the remission of sins. Faithful men, gentle and full of charity, will receive you and your words with joy. Proud and impious men will condemn and oppose you. Settle it in your hearts to endure all things with meekness and patience. The wise and the noble will soon join themselves to you, and, with you, will preach to kings, to princes, and to nations. Be patient in

tribulation, fervent in prayer, fearless in labour, and the kingdom of God, which endures for ever, shall be your reward."

Dominic, unlike Francis, organised an Order, placing it under papal control, and though it was to see corruption it fulfilled the purposes for which it was established. Dante paid honour to the names of the founders of the two great mendicant Orders, not with prejudice, since elsewhere he showed the degradation of the friars—

> "Her, for her good, with two high chiefs endowed,
> That they on either side her guides might be.
> The soul of one with love seraphic glowed;
> The other by his wisdom on our earth
> A splendour of cherubic glory showed."

The bulls of Sixtus IV., issued in 1474 and 1479, marked the climax of the prosperity of the two Orders, which were spoken of as the two rivers flowing from Paradise, and as seraphim raised on wings of heavenly contemplation above all earthly things. Undoubtedly the purposes of Francis and Dominic attracted the greatest men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, among whom were Alexander Hales, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus.

The missionary labours, the chief glory of the mendicants, were not confined within the pale of the Church. Dominic himself, it is said, desired to go to Persia, and though he did not pass out of Europe, he inspired his followers with a zeal which carried them to distant lands. After the death of the saint the Dominicans met in Paris in 1222, and elected as

his successor Jordan of Saxony, who, in his short reign, extended the sphere and influence of the Brotherhood. Friars were sent to Germany, Venice, Poland, and Denmark, where houses were erected, and also to the Holy Land. Jordan himself was in the habit of spending his Lent alternately at Bologna and Paris, and of visiting other university cities, among these Oxford; and at each place he preached to the students, and sought to induce masters and bachelors to join the Brotherhood. While he endeavoured to increase the austerities in the daily life of the friars, his reign was marked by evangelistic zeal rather than by asceticism, and he himself perished with some of his companions in an expedition to Palestine. In 1225 there was a mission of the Dominicans, as there was already one of the Franciscans, in Morocco; and at the same period important work was done among the Nestorians and other Eastern schismatics. In 1237 the Dominicans gained distinction by bringing back some of the Eastern Jacobites to the Church. The labour which the Friars Preachers undertook was no easy task. Ninety of them perished at one time in Eastern Hungary; and yet there were ever men ready when new sacrifices were required. There is a legend, and it can be no more than a legend, that in 1316 some of the Dominicans reached the kingdom of Prester John in Abyssinia, where a church was established and one of the princes appointed inquisitor-general. After the conquest of America the Friars Preachers, true to their traditions, sent forth evangelists to Mexico, New Granada, and Peru.

The Franciscans, no less than the Dominicans, were

eager to convert the infidel. A bull of Alexander IV., of date 1258, was addressed to the friars among the Saracens, Pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, Ethiopians, Syrians, Iberians, Alans, Cathari, Goths, Zichori, Russians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Muscovites, Tartars, Hungarians, and also to those labouring among the Christians captured by the Turks. This list, which is not a geographical enumeration, is a witness of the extraordinary zeal of the Brotherhood. A bull of Clement VI., in 1342, gave the Franciscans the guardianship of the holy places of Jerusalem, and it was not unbecoming that those who bore the name of Francis should be protectors of places made sacred by Him whom the saint fervently loved and dutifully served. Later in their history the Minorites aided Columbus when he prepared his expedition, and at Hayti a Franciscan opened the first Christian church of the New World.

Everywhere the missionaries wandered, and marvellous was the tale of their bravery. Marco Polo brought word of the good government of Kubla Khan, and Gregory X., in 1274, sent out two Dominicans to his kingdom. They, in 1289, were followed by two Franciscans, and one of these, Joannes de Monte Corvino, returning some years later, reported concerning his work. He had built a church with dome and bells in Cambalu (Pekin), had taught Latin and Greek to one hundred and fifty boys, and had converted six thousand people, preparing breviaries and psalteries for their use. He spoke of the tolerance of the native priests, adding that they were more to be admired than those of Italy. Raimund de Pennaforti, the

Dominican general, who died in 1273, demonstrated at once his love of learning and his practical wisdom when he founded schools at Tunis and Murcia for the training of friars in Oriental languages. No more intrepid ambassadors of Christ ever carried the gospel over the world than the followers of Dominic and Francis. Cardinal Newman has thus pictured them—

> "The friars, too, the zealous band
> By Dominic or Francis led,
> They gather and they take their stand
> Where foes are fierce or friends have fled."

The life-work of a friar, in the years when the mendicants were quickening the piety of nations, may be illustrated from the biography of Antony of Padua. This man, whose fame was spread abroad while he lived, and not diminished when he died, was a Portuguese, who changed his name from Ferdinand to Antony on becoming a Minorite. He was educated by the Augustinians, joining their Order, but passed to the Franciscans when he heard that five of their number had been martyred in Morocco. His enthusiasm induced him to set out for Morocco, but, suffering shipwreck, he was forced to return to Europe. In Assisi he was fortunate to meet Francis himself, from whom he received a blessing, which was an inspiration. He was appointed to work in France and Italy. Soon he became distinguished as a preacher; crowds assembled to hear him; the business of a town would cease for the hour that men might flock to him. In the legend it is related that a noted tyrant, Eccelino da Romano, prostrated himself at his feet. Antony's friends thought he would be done to

death when he uttered the words: "How long, thou cruel tyrant, wilt thou continue shedding innocent blood? Seest thou not the vengeance of God ready to overwhelm thee, the sword of the Lord drawn to smite thee? Repent, or it will fall and destroy thee." Antony laboured with singular earnestness among the worldly and sinful in the Church, and at the same time met in argument the heretics whom he found in the cities of Italy. At all times he was strict in obedience to the Rule and customs of Francis, and strenuously opposed Elias of Cortona in his attempt to change the traditions of the Order. Broken in health by his fervour in preaching and the vicissitudes of the mendicant life, he retired to Padua, where at the early age of thirty-six he died. Shortly after his death, which took place in 1231, he was canonised, the first Franciscan, after the founder himself, to be made a saint. It is told of Antony that on one occasion the fish gathered to hear him preach, as did the birds in the history of Francis. It is also related that he was preaching at a general chapter of his Order when Francis appeared in the midst, his arms extended and in an attitude of benediction.

The most eloquent of the first Dominicans was John of Vicenza, who, while a student of law at Padua, heard Dominic addressing a multitude in the great piazza of the city. Immediately after the sermon he forsook the study of law to receive the habit and enter the new Order. He was sent to Bologna, and afterwards returned to Padua, where he became famous. When he preached, crowds were attracted; and the legend has it that the angels were seen whispering in his ears, and that when he spoke of the rosary a bright rose

appeared on his brow or a golden crown over his head. He was called the Apostle of Lombardy, and to him has been assigned the introduction of the well-known salutation, "God save you," by which he hoped to foster courtesy. The legend further relates that he converted one hundred thousand heretics by his tale of Dominic's life and miracles; and that at Verona he addressed a multitude of three hundred thousand, assembled to swear peace, impressing them with Christ's words: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." The story of the translation of the body of Dominic ascribes a special favour to this man. As he stood by the coffin he made way for a bishop, when the body of the saint turned in the direction of the great preacher. Again he moved, and again the body turned, that it might be seen that the saint counted sanctity higher than ecclesiastical dignity. An apostle of peace though Friar John claimed to be, he burned on one occasion sixty of the Cathari in the piazza of Verona.

The history of the settlement of the Dominicans and Franciscans in England serves to show in detail how the mendicants entered upon a mission field. No minute account has been preserved of the arrival of the Dominicans, who preceded the Franciscans in their labours in England. In the year 1220 or 1221—the date is disputed—Gilbert de Fraxineto with a company of twelve Dominicans was received by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who tested their powers as preachers and was satisfied. Oxford, the seat of a university, was evidently their desired destination, as in that city they established their first house in England.

Anthony Wood, in his treatise on the city of Oxford,

quotes from a MS. of Trivettus, an historian of the reign of Edward III., giving this translation: "This year (to wit, 1221) the Preaching Fryers were sent into England. Who being in number thirteen, and having for their priour Brother Gilbert de Fraxineto, accompanied with the venerable Father Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Wynton, came to Canterbury. Who when they had presented themselves to Stephen (Langton), archbishop thereof, and (he) hearing that they were Preaching Fryers, commanded Brother Gilbert that he should make a sermon before him in the church, in which he himself (as it should seem) had purposed to preach the same day. With whose words the archbishop was soe out of measure aedified, that all his time afterward he with great love and favour advanced the religion of these brethren. But they, going forward, went from Canterbury to London, where they arrived on the feast of St. Laurence. And going beyond, they came to Oxon on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 Aug.), to whose honor they there built an oratory and had scholes, which are now called St. Edward's, in whose parish they received an habitation in which they continued for some time. But when there was noe opportunity of enlarging the place, they translated themselves to another place granted to them by the king, where now they inhabit without the walls."

According to Wood's narrative, the friars when they approached Oxford prayed to God, with hands lifted up to heaven, that, as they had hitherto been kindly received by all, they might meet with courtesy from the students. "At their entrance they applyed themselves to the grandies of the Universitie, and at length

to the canons of S. Frideswyde's, those of Osney, and to the chief burgesses of the towne. With the former they obtained respect by reason of their learned parts in philosophy and divinity; with the said canons and burgesses love and tendernesse, because of their simple and saint-like carriage. At length diving into the favour of all persons in these parts, they obtained a seat in the priory, to the end that by their exemplary carriage and gifts of preaching the Jewes of Oxford might be converted to the Christian faith." The first of their many benefactors was Isabell de Bulbeck, the wife of Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, who purchased a plot of ground and gave freely of her money that more land might be obtained, "whereon a mansion for them might be built."

The famous Robert Grosseteste, probably chancellor of the university at this time, was one of the first to welcome the friars, and it is not unlikely that they went to Oxford at his invitation. Three of his friends joined the Order, and of one of them, John de St. Giles, the story is told that, preaching on poverty, he determined to show his sincerity. He accordingly descended from the pulpit, assumed the Dominican dress, and returned to finish the sermon.

The settlement of the Dominicans may be further illustrated by the instance of Cologne. Jordan of Saxony and Henry of Cologne, in 1221, opened a hospitium near the stately cathedral, and officiated in a little chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. The chapel was soon filled, and though the archbishop was asked by the local clergy to remove the friars, they remained to enlighten the people and rouse the priests to duty. The Dominican school of Cologne was to

become famous, numbering among its teachers Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

Before the organisation of the English mission the Dominicans had settled in Paris. Little, however, is known of this foundation. As early as 1217, at a meeting at Prouille, seven friars were commissioned to set out for Paris, which, famous for its university, was suited as a residence and training school for men desiring to be learned students and accomplished preachers. One of the seven was Laurence, an Englishman, who, discoursing on his heavenly visions, cheered his companions during their march to Paris; and on their arrival in the city, where grave difficulties were encountered, Matthew, a Frenchman, was leader, and he alone knew the city and the university. After ten months, during which the Brothers occupied a small house near the bishop's palace, they were befriended by an Englishman, the Dean of St. Quentin. With the consent of his colleagues he bestowed on the friars, whose piety, humility, and eloquence he admired, the hospital erected for pilgrims, on Mount St. Geneviève, by John of St. Alban. They also received the adjoining chapel, dedicated to St. James; and these two buildings formed the Convent of St. James, the first of the Order in Paris. Here Albertus Magnus wrote his commentary on the *Sentences*, and Thomas Aquinas his *Summa*.

In September 1224, according to Thomas of Eccleston, a band of Franciscans arrived at Dover. They were poor, and provision for their journey across the channel had been made by the monks of Fécamp. Of this band, numbering nine persons, with four clerics among them, the leader was Agnellus, an Italian, whom

Francis himself had designated minister of the province of England. The other three clerics were Englishmen, of whom one, Richard of Ingworth, was a priest. Among the laymen was Laurence of Beauvais, to whom Francis on his deathbed had given his habit, as a token of his affection. From Dover these men proceeded to Canterbury, where they were entertained for two days in the priory of the Holy Trinity, and then were divided. Four went to London, while the others continued in Canterbury, being lodged in the hospital of the priests till a little chamber was given them "in the house of the scholars, commonly called the school-house." One may read how they boiled their porridge, and mixed their beer, which was thick and sour, with water, that it might go further; and how they were merry in spite of poverty. Their ignorance of English kept them at first from work. One of them, however, was an Englishman, and though himself too young to preach, he helped the others in their studies, and all were ready in a short time to engage in the mission.

By their sincerity and cheerfulness they won their way in Canterbury, and a house was built. This they would not accept, but borrowed it from the city corporation, in whom it was vested for their use.

The four men who had gone to London had been received by the Dominicans, already settled in the city. They spent a fortnight with these Friars Preachers, after which, hiring a piece of ground in Cornhill, they erected rude huts suitable to their profession, and lived in the humblest fashion and on the meanest fare. In the following year they were offered a large building in the parish of St. Nicholas, which they accepted for

their use only when it had been made over to the Corporation of London. The rule of poverty was respected in these early days.

In the autumn of the year of their landing in England, or in 1225, as another account has it, Richard of Ingworth and Richard of Devon, leaving their companions in London, set out for Oxford. Legend has glorified their journey by telling how signs were given that heaven was guarding them. As they approached the university city, they found themselves in a large wood, and as it was nightfall and they feared the wild beasts, they sought a shelter with the monks of Abingdon. The prior, thinking they were jesters and not servants of God, would not receive them; but a young monk, when his brothers had retired, showed them a hayloft, giving them bread and beer. The same night the monk dreamed that his brethren stood before the judgment-seat of Christ, and "there came a certain poor man, humble and despised, in the habit of these poor friars, and he cried with a loud voice: 'O most impartial Judge, the blood of my brethren, which hath been shed this night, crieth unto Thee. The guardians of this place have refused them meat and lodging, although they have left all for Thy sake, and were now coming here to seek those souls which Thou hast redeemed with Thy blood; they would not, in fact, have refused so much to jesters and mummers.' . . . Then the Judge commanded them to be hanged on the elm that stood in that cloister." In the morning the dreamer awoke to find the monks dead, and shortly afterwards he joined the Minorites.

The two Franciscans, of whom this legend is related, reached Oxford, where they met with a reception from

the Dominicans very different from that given by the monks of Abingdon. After a week spent with their entertainers they obtained a house in the parish of St. Ebbe, where they began to lecture and to preach, and where they were joined by "many honest bachelors and many notable men." Increasing rapidly, they required another house; and shortly after one had been obtained, the owner "conferred the land and house on the community of the town for the use of the Friars Minors."

The house was not a palace, since the infirmary was "so low that the height of the walls did not much exceed the height of a man." When the time came to build a church the friars worked with their own hands, and were assisted by a bishop and an abbot, who did now, "soe zealous was their devotion for the promotion of this sect, carry upon their shoulders the coule and the hod, the one containing water, the other stones and mortar for the spedier finishing of this structure."

A school was also established. The record is: "As Oxford was the principal place of study in England, where the whole body of scholars was wont to congregate, Francis Agnellus caused a school of sufficiently decent appearance to be built on the site on which the friars had settled, and induced Robert Grosseteste, of holy memory, to lecture to them there; and under him they made extraordinary progress in sermons as well as in subtle moral themes suitable for preaching."

Grosseteste, writing somewhere about 1238 to Gregory IX., bore this favourable testimony to the work of the friars: "Your Holiness may be assured that in England inestimable benefits have been produced by the friars; for they illuminate the whole country with the light of their preaching and learning. Their holy conversa-

tion excites vehemently to contempt of the world and to voluntary poverty, to the practice of humility in the highest ranks, to obedience to the prelates and head of the Church, to patience in tribulation, abstinence in plenty, and, in a word, to the exercise of all virtues. If your Holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction in daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that 'upon them that dwell in the shadow of death hath the light shined.'"

Grosseteste, who did not enter either of the Orders, was friendly to both. His strongest sympathies, however, were with the Franciscans. He was the first reader in their school; and while he endeavoured to lead them in the path of learning, he insisted they should be zealous in good works, as Francis had given example.

These friars, who made the name of Francis known in England, were not morose while obeying their Rule; and in their first years at least, no scandal soiled their fame. According to Eccleston, "the brethren were so full of fun among themselves, that a mute could hardly refrain from laughter at the sight. So when the young friars of Oxford laughed too frequently, it was enjoined on one that as often as he laughed he should be punished. Now it happened that, when he had received no punishment in one day and yet could not restrain himself from laughing, he had a vision one night that the whole convent stood as usual in the choir, and the friars were beginning to laugh as usual, and behold the crucifix which stood at the door of the

choir turned towards them as though alive, and said: 'They are the sons of Corah, who in the hour of chanting laugh and sleep.' . . . On hearing this dream the friars were frightened, and behaved without any noticeable laughter."

Before the close of the century the Oxford Franciscans were reported to be the most learned body of men in Christendom. Their fame attracted students from Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and from time to time they despatched teachers to the leading Franciscan schools in Europe.

From Oxford a mission was sent to Cambridge, where the first convent was a disused synagogue situated near the common prison. A larger building was soon required, and one was erected on ground purchased for ten marks granted from the royal exchequer. The chapel was "one that a carpenter could build in a day's time."

Five years after their landing the Franciscans had houses in the chief towns of England, and within a generation these houses numbered forty-nine.

Francis himself, according to the *Speculum Vitæ*, had shown what manner of houses he desired, and the wishes of the saint were not forgotten by those who first bore his name. "St. Francis said to Bonaventura, who had given the friars a farm to build a convent near Siena, 'Shall I tell you how the settlements of the friars ought to be built? When the brethren go to any city where they have no place, and find some one who is ready to give them so much land as is sufficient for a building, a garden, and the like, they must, above all things, be cautious not to grasp at more than is necessary, always having regard to holy

poverty, and that good example which they are bound to exhibit on all occasions. When they have a competent piece of ground, . . . and having obtained the bishop's blessing, they shall go and make a deep ditch all round the land on which they propose to build, and a good fence instead of a wall, as an emblem of their poverty. Then they shall build poor cottages of mud and wood, and some few cells for the friars to pray in and labour in for the eschewing of idleness. They shall have small churches and not large ones, either for preaching or on any other pretence. And if ever prelates or clerks, or religious or secular men, visit the brethren, their poor houses, cells, and churches shall prove to them the best sermons, and they shall be more edified by these things than by words." The Franciscans of Paris, it is told, built a magnificent hall, but Brother Agnellus prayed that it might be destroyed, and it immediately fell.

The first Franciscan house in Rome was established in 1229, in the hospital of St. Blasio; and subsequently Innocent IV., having evicted the Benedictines from the Convent of St. Maria in Ara Coeli, bestowed it on the Minorites. Gregorovius, the historian of Rome, has shown us these friars: "Wearing the brown cowl, and with the white cord around their bodies, triumphant mendicant brothers entered the ancient capital, and from the legendary palace of Octavian, on the summit of the Tarpeian fortress, a barefooted 'general' of mendicants issued commands to subject 'provinces,' which, as in the time of the ancient Romans, stretched from distant Britain to the seas of Asia."

The mendicants, largely through their zeal and partly through their privileges, outstripped all other

religious societies in the Church. Among these privileges was the right to take into their ranks members of any Brotherhood, while no friar could be withdrawn from his own Order. Their advancement in the fourteenth century is illustrated by the story that the students of Oxford were reduced from thirty thousand to six thousand. Men decided that their sons should not pass within the walls of the university lest they should become friars. These figures are exaggerated, and the Black Death and other causes helped the diminution of the students. None the less, the enthusiasm for success led the mendicants to unjust deeds, if we believe the charge of the Archbishop of Armagh.

In 1357 he appeared before the papal Court at Avignon with this declaration: "Enticed by the wiles of the friars and by little presents, these boys (for the friars cannot circumvent men of mature age) enter the Orders, nor are they afterwards allowed, according to report, to get their liberty by leaving the Order, but they are kept with them against their will until they make profession; further, they are not permitted, as it is said, to speak with their father or mother, except under the supervision and fear of a friar; an instance came to my knowledge this very day; as I came out of my inn an honest man from England, who has come to this Court to obtain a remedy, told me that immediately after last Easter, the friars at the university of Oxford abducted in this manner his son, who was not yet thirteen years old, and when he went there, he could not speak with him except under the supervision of a friar."

The popes, as a rule, would listen to no condemnation of the men who were in a special way their servants,

and the accusations of the archbishop led to no remedy. The university of Oxford, however, passed a statute which, while attesting the zeal of the mendicants, pronounced it injurious to the prosperity of the university. The statute runs: "It is generally reported and proved by experience, that the nobles of this realm, those of good birth, and very many of the common people, are afraid, and therefore cease, to send their sons or relatives or others dear to them in tender youth, when they would make most advance in primitive sciences, to the university to be instructed, lest any friars of the Order of mendicants should entice or induce such children, before they have reached years of discretion, to enter the Order of the same mendicants; and because owing to the admission of such boys to the mendicant Orders, the tranquillity of the students of the university has been often disturbed; therefore the said university, zealous in the bowels of piety both for the number of her sons and the quiet of her students, has ordained and decreed, that if any of the Order of mendicants shall receive to their habit in this university, or induce, or cause to be received or induced, any such youth before the completion of his eighteenth year at least, or shall send such an one away from the university or cause him to be sent away, in order that he may be received into the same Order elsewhere: then *eo ipso* no one of the cloister or community of such a friar . . . being a graduate, shall during the year immediately following, read or attend lectures in this university or elsewhere, where such exercises would count as discharge of the statutable requirements in this university; and this penalty shall be inflicted on all those

of the Order of mendicants, and the associates of all those, who shall be convicted by credible persons of having withdrawn youths in any way from the university, or from learning philosophy."

The mendicants were able to induce the king in parliament to annul this statute, under certain conditions, and once more they triumphed.

The opposition which they excited may have been due to the rivalry of the secular clergy, who were powerful in the university; but that opposition serves to illustrate the reception which mendicant enthusiasm provoked among the members of existing institutions.

Wiclif has been credited with continuing the opposition of the archbishop. It was not, however, till 1381 that he came into conflict with the friars in regard to transubstantiation. Yet in spite of quarrels he was not unjust to their reputation when he prophesied: "I anticipate that some of the friars whom God shall be pleased to enlighten will return with all devotion to the original religion of Christ, will lay aside their unfaithfulness, and with the consent of Antichrist, offered or solicited, will freely return to primitive truth, and then build up the Church, as Paul did before them."

The progress of the two great Orders was extraordinary, exciting the jealousy of rivals, and fostering their own pride. In the thirteenth century, when there were multitudes of conversions, the kingdom of God seemed to be coming with observation.

In 1825, at the close of six hundred years of history, the Dominicans counted among their numbers four popes, seventy cardinals, four hundred and sixty bishops, four presidents of General Councils, twenty-

five legates a latere, eighty apostolic nuncios, and one prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire. They claimed, too, four thousand writers of distinction, though they placed many inglorious names on this roll of fame. They were able to point to men of illustrious reputation, like Thomas Aquinas; and with no small satisfaction numbered Antoninus, the first to write a complete history of the world; and Jacobus de Voragine, whose *Golden Legend* has been translated into all the languages of the West. Among artists the brilliant names of Fra Bartolomeo and Fra Angelico have been associated with the Order. In 1243, within a generation after the passing of Dominic, one of the Friars-Preachers, Hugh of Vienne, was created a cardinal; and another, Peter of Tarentaise, in 1276, ascended the papal throne as Innocent v.

The Minorites relate that in 1381 they had fifteen hundred houses, though another account has it that, in 1264, there were eight thousand cloisters with two hundred thousand friars. In their catalogue of distinguished men are five popes, fifty cardinals, and a host of minor prelates. The year 1289 saw in Nicholas IV. the Franciscan as pope.

These ecclesiastical distinctions, while they appear inappropriate to mendicants, indicate the vast influence exercised by the friars of Dominic and Francis.

Apart from their exposition of the dogma when they were found among the schoolmen, and their protection of it when they acted as inquisitors, the Dominicans earned and retained the reputation of cultured preachers, and crowded the churches with hearers. Legend played about the mission of John of Vicenza, hiding him in signs and wonders; but no miracle

save the love of Christ inspired the lips of Savonarola, who, in the closing years of the fifteenth century, preached the gospel of repentance in Florence, gaining distinction with persecution for himself, and enhancing the fame of his Order.

The Minorite preacher, who for a time kept the Florentines away from Savonarola, is not the type of the true friars of Francis, who found their mission not among the rich and noble, but among the unlettered and the poor. Shakespere shows us two friars in *Romeo and Juliet*. While the scene is Italian, it is probable that use is made of the reputation of the English Minorites. Friar John calls out, "Holy Franciscan friar! brother! ho!" and thus answers Friar Laurence—

> "Going to find a bare-foot brother out,
> One of our Order, to associate me,
> Here in this city visiting the sick,
> And finding him, the searchers of the town,
> Suspecting that we both were in a house
> Where the infectious pestilence did reign,
> Seal'd up the doors, and would not let us forth."

Centuries after the foundation of the Orders, Lord Bacon wrote: "There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards *love* of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe towards many; and maketh man become humane and charitable; as it is seene sometime in friars."

Professor Brewer, the editor of *Monumenta Franciscana*, has pointed out the influence exercised by the Franciscans over the poorer classes of the medieval towns, and has attempted to prove from the localities

of their convents in England that it was their purpose to labour among the humblest people. In these towns there were masses of the unenfranchised, with no part in municipal life; and the trade guilds were close corporations, to which entrance was difficult. The tyranny of feudalism drove the impatient from the rural districts to increase the poverty and discontent of the cities, where the struggle for life, the meagre rewards of labour, the pride of the rich, made the poor the open enemies of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, and caused them to be ever ready for religious and political change. "The *sediment* of the town population in the Middle Ages," says a modern writer, "was a dense slough of stagnant misery, squalor, famine, loathsome disease, and dull despair, such as the worst slums of London, Paris, or Liverpool know nothing of."

The same writer, Dr. Jessop, in *The Coming of the Friars*, gives a vivid description of the Franciscans in England. "Outside the city walls," he says, "at Lynn and York and Bristol; in a filthy swamp at Norwich, through which the drainage of the city sluggishly trickled into the river, never a foot lower than its banks; in a mere barn-like structure, with walls of mud, at Shrewsbury; in the 'stinking alley' in London, the Minorites took up their abode, and there they lived on charity, doing for the lowest the most menial offices, speaking to the poorest the words of hope, preaching to learned and simple such sermons —short, homely, fervent, and emotional—as the world had not heard for many a day." This description, founded on facts set forth in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, makes, indeed, for the conclusion that the

Franciscan mission was primarily intended for the outcasts and the poor. For these unfortunate men there was practically, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, no religious provision; and it is therefore intelligible why, in France and Italy especially, where the Church was richest and most powerful, heresy flourished and was the sign of priestly neglect. The churches were indeed open to all, but they were not placed where the poor herded; and between the worldly ecclesiastics and the dwellers in the slums there was a violent social contrast, and neither courtesy nor sympathy. To the destitute the friars of St. Francis went with the gospel of Christ, and, as not seldom they had renounced wealth and rank, their sincerity was respected. They had indeed houses as soon as they settled in a town, but luxury was unknown and comfort there was none. Their fare was scanty, their dress that of paupers. Many were not priests, and none were worldly ecclesiastics. And so they found their way to the weary and heavy laden, and were welcomed. They preached the gospel to the poor, in the name of the Son of Man, who had not where to lay His head; and they told the tale of Mary, tender and compassionate. They were bearers, indeed, of glad tidings, of the love of God, the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the pity of the Virgin; and they who received them learned that though despised on earth they were remembered in heaven.

CHAPTER VI

The Mendicants and the Inquisition

Innocent iii., Gibbon says, "may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation and the origin of the Inquisition." The great pope, through whom the papacy reached its height of political grandeur, opposed arms to heresy when worldly policies had destroyed, and priestly threatenings had failed to restore, the unity of the Church. There was an inquisition, indeed, among the Cathari, which preceded the crusade, but wanting organisation it proved ineffective. The crusade itself secured victims by the thousand, and yet when the tale of blood was told, the progress of heresy had still to be checked. Dominic worked in Languedoc, and many have styled him the founder of the Inquisition; yet it was not formally established till years had passed after his death. His purpose, to raise up learned expounders of the dogma, was realised through his own enthusiasm and devotion to the Church. When, however, the fervour he inspired had been chilled, and meaner concerns interested and occupied the friars, it was natural that these men with intellectual traditions should be ready for service when Rome determined to organise a magistracy for examining the faith of individuals and assigning punishments. Right reason de-

manded that the dogma, judged by believers to be the truth of God, should be expounded and defended by trained men; and an expectation was formed that this truth would secure a signal success, if only its divine character could be demonstrated. Dominic's scheme, certainly no worthless one, was meant to secure the victory of truth over error by lawful spiritual and ecclesiastical means; but it was violated when the Inquisition crushed heretics and schismatics, and freedom was opposed by crass authority.

The radiant love of Francis, which glowed on all God's creation, had nothing akin to that stern spirit which filled the men who touched the cruel work of the Inquisition; and yet there were Franciscans who became papal extirpators of heresy.

The crusade, as a religious war, failed in Languedoc, and under the leadership of Simon de Montfort passed into a territorial campaign, by which he enriched his family and ultimately increased the domain of France. Heresy was not vanquished; and Rome, not content to be less than victor, gradually built up the Inquisition, with defined powers and regular officers, to be an engine for destroying the enemies of the Church in France and throughout Christendom.

The history of the Inquisition, whatever the motives of churchmen may have been, reveals a long and varied series of crimes against humanity. The number of the victims of the Holy Office in any country cannot be given, since accounts were not always kept, and some of the actual records were destroyed in the fury of revolutions. Llorente, in his history of the Inquisition, asserts that in Spain alone thirty-one thousand persons were burnt, and two hundred and ninety thousand otherwise

punished. These figures have been examined by Prescott and discounted by Hefele; but no partisan, by reducing statistics, has been able to remove the disgrace of the Spanish Inquisition.

Significant is the fact chronicled by Motley: "Upon the 16th of February 1568 a sentence of the Holy Office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. A proclamation of the king, dated ten years later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition and ordered it to be carried into instant execution. . . . Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines." With the Holy Office, as a spiritual or ecclesiastical Court, the mendicants, and especially the Dominicans, were associated; and the praise or blame for its deeds was theirs, even while the ultimate responsibility rested with the Church.

Before the thirteenth century, by an arrangement based on the Theodosian Code, the duty of securing purity of belief was assigned to the bishop, who was the accuser, and the civil magistrate, who was the judge. The mendicants, however, acquired the right to seek out and to punish heretics. Probably the machinations of Frederick II. influenced the popes to take into their own hands the treatment of their religious enemies, many of whom had avowed themselves imperialists.

The relation of the civil magistrate to religion, the connection of Church and State, are questions variously answered and provocative of prejudice and passion. Rome demanded submission from governments; but in sending out inquisitors it weakened its connection with various States, and there were countries with

courage and strength to preserve their citizens from the hands of the officials of religion. It was by no violent assertion of prerogative that Innocent III. called upon Raymond of Toulouse to crush the Albigenses, nor, on the other hand, did Frederick II. usurp a right when, to preserve the favour of the Church, he enacted stern laws for the suppression of heretics; but when one pope after another sent the mendicants to exercise functions which had belonged to civil magistrates, and to treat useful and well-behaved citizens with barbaric cruelty, the union of the Church with certain States was weakened, and kings learned that their obedience to the Bishop of Rome had defined limits. Philip the Fair, to take one example, opposed the Dominican inquisitors of Toulouse, when he was in open quarrel with Rome, and released many of their prisoners. The kings of England, with the pride and power of their country, did not submit the liberties of their subjects to the tyranny of a foreign and secret tribunal.

The usurpation by clerics of functions long exercised by civil magistrates, and the disputes regarding the nature of the cases falling under the jurisdiction of the civil and ecclesiastical courts, caused disturbances not easily settled. They had, moreover, far-reaching effects, and may be taken as factors in the secularisation of politics, as Lecky styles it, which is characteristic of the life of the modern world.

The bishops of the Church having failed to preserve doctrinal purity, even in Rome, might have been expected to welcome the mendicants as inquisitors, especially the Preachers, with their training in theology; but a long and bitter strife began when a Dominican received a commission to examine a case of heresy.

The friars, having no monastic duties and no parochial attachments, were free to be the servants of the Church; and scholarship was at first an excellent preparation for the service to which they were called. The leading heretics were not foolish and unlettered men seeking for novelties in religion and dominated by rash enthusiasm. Some were intelligent critics of theological pretensions and skilled opponents of certain doctrines set forth as truths of God, even though their own systems of thought were at fault. The ordinary bishop or priest, with no speculative interests and no scientific education, was singularly unfitted to deal with intellectual foes. He did not, as a rule, object to cruel methods, and did not reckon argument his only weapon with which to meet an enemy. He might therefore have welcomed the aid of trained men, had not his own province been invaded and his privileges reduced. He accordingly opposed the functionaries, while approving the establishment of the Inquisition.

The Dominicans were the first papal servants, after the termination of the crusade, to receive a command to labour among the Albigenses. It is to the year 1227, however, that the Inquisition may be assigned, though some have associated its foundation with the injunctions of the fourth Lateran Council to bishops to search for and punish heretics. In that year attention was called to Filippo Paternon, a prelate in whose diocese, extending from Pisa to Arezzo, Catharism had progressed, and from which it had passed to Florence. In its early stage, in the year 1226, the case had been tried before the Bishop of Florence and a magistrate. Paternon, pleading guilty, was released without punishment; but as he continued in his old ways, Gregory IX.

appointed a commission to examine the charges brought against him, and gave the chief place in it to a Dominican, Fra Giovanni di Salerno. The canons fixed by the Lateran Council for settling the troubles in Languedoc were to regulate the conduct of this case. Fra Giovanni died in 1230, but a successor was appointed and the work continued. It is this commission which may be reckoned the formal beginning of the Inquisition, seeing that its members were named and its powers defined.

The work of Fra Giovanni and his successor satisfied Rome, and in 1233 Gregory IX. issued two bulls, which have sometimes been taken as the foundation of the Inquisition. A Council of Toulouse, 1229, had enacted, in conformity with the injunctions of the Lateran Council, that each city should establish a board of inquisition, composed of one cleric and three laymen. This arrangement, however, was set aside by the new decrees.

The first of these decrees, addressed to bishops, contained the words: "We, seeing you engrossed in the whirlwind of cares, and scarce able to breathe in the pressure of overwhelming anxieties, think it well to divide your burdens, that they may be more easily borne. We have therefore determined to send preaching friars against the heretics of France and the adjoining provinces, and we beg, warn, and exhort you, ordering you, as you reverence the Holy See, to receive them kindly, and to treat them well, giving them in this, as in all else, favour, counsel, and aid, that they may fulfil their office." The second bull, addressed to the "Priors and Friars of the Order of Preachers, Inquisitors," proceeded thus: "Therefore you, or any of you, wherever you may happen to preach, are em-

powered, unless they desist from such defence (of heretics) on monition, to deprive clerks of their benefices forever, and to proceed against them and all others, without appeal, calling in the aid of the secular arm, if necessary, and coercing opposition, if requisite, with the censures of the Church, without appeal." Gregory did not see the consequences of his act when he bestowed such extraordinary power; and, at a later time, to limit the number with this authority, was compelled to instruct the provincials of the Order to select specially qualified men.

It was deemed a wise and merciful arrangement that bishops or priests should not preside over the newly constituted tribunals, as they might act with malice against private enemies, involving the innocent with the guilty. The mendicants, on the other hand, with no local connections where they laboured, might be expected to do justly, and to be above suspicion of avarice. And it is worthy of note that at the foundation of the Inquisition they were at their full height of popularity, honoured as good and faithful servants of religion.

In Languedoc, however, some of these friars laboured in a fashion which stirred hatred and fury, and in that place was begun the unholy reputation of the Inquisition. The traditions of the crusade and the religious character of the people stimulated the friars to a rigour which was cruelty, and a zeal which was brutality. Legal methods, even the crudities of medieval times, were abandoned. False witnesses were heard; or at anyrate, the evidence of criminals was accepted. The accused were entrapped by insidious questions, and advocates were refused for their defence. In many

places there were riots, and, though in 1237 the pope associated the milder Franciscans with the Dominicans, the tumult continued, till for a time the Inquisition was suspended. Another interest attaches to this raid on unbelief. In Languedoc the inquisitors began the regular use of the punishment of burning, which the Church has made its own, improperly interpreting the words: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned." This punishment was not new, being known from the period of the Council of Chalcedon, but it had been rarely employed.

At the publication of the bulls of 1233 it was not the intention of the pope to interfere with the bishops, and at first there was no serious friction. In that year certain rules were approved by Rome, containing provision that in every diocese the bishops should act in name of the Church. In 1234 the Archbishop of Sens remonstrated against the invasion of the friars as inquisitors into his territory, and Gregory IX., revoking all commissions, simply advised the prelate to make use of the Preachers. Further proof is not wanting that Rome had no intention of interfering with episcopal rights. Fra Ruggieri Calcagni, in 1243, described himself as "inquisitor Domini Papæ in Tuscia," and elsewhere styled himself inquisitor of the pope and the bishop. In spite of papal prudence, however, the Dominicans were to come into collision with the prelates, wresting from them and from the Franciscans the supreme control of the Inquisition.

It is not strange, from the aggressive orthodoxy and ecclesiastical zeal of Dominic, that his friars should

have become inquisitors; but it is surprising that followers of Francis should have engaged in the work of crushing heretics. They may have been moved by jealousy, grudging distinction to their rivals. In any case, they acted as inquisitors; and to them were entrusted parts of France and Italy, and, later, Bohemia and Dalmatia. In 1254, by the special arrangement of Innocent IV., the care of Italy was divided between the two Orders, and to the Franciscans were assigned the central and southern districts. Occasionally the Orders were associated, as in Aragon, where the two provincials were appointed the chief inquisitors of the kingdom, but this association nowhere conduced to peace. It was inevitable that offences should come, when servants of Rome were associated with men, such as the French prelates, who did not lightly yield to the pope. This association is illustrated from the Council of Narbonne, 1243 or 1244, at which were representatives from the provinces of Narbonne, Arles, and Aix.

The canons of this council were addressed to the Dominicans, and these words were written by the bishops: "We write this to you, not that we wish to bind you down by our advice, as it would not be fitting to limit the freedom accorded to your discretion by other forms and rules than those of the Holy See, to the prejudice of the business; but we wish to help your devotion, as we are commanded to do by the Holy See, since you, who bear our burdens, ought to be, through mutual charity, assisted with help and advice." Further, the inquisitors were to have the right to pass judgments and impose sentences; and this significant declaration was made: "You are to abstain from these pecuniary

penances and exactions, both for the sake of the honour of your Order and because you will have fully enough other work to which to attend."

A provincial council could not bind the whole Church, and very soon, indeed, the canons were modified for use in the provinces represented in the Council of Narbonne. A step of extreme importance was taken when a body of bishops entrusted to the Dominicans definite powers of sentencing and punishing heretics. The command to men to abstain from imposing pecuniary penances, for the sake of the honour of their Order, implies a rapid decline of purity in the few years which had elapsed from the time when the Dominican chapter accepted the rule of poverty. In a provincial chapter, in 1242, it was decided that money should not be touched or pecuniary penances imposed. Yet temptation was ever strong, and in 1245 Innocent IV. was forced to ordain that the fines which were still continued should be expended on building prisons and supporting prisoners; and, in 1251, the same pope had to take the extreme step of forbidding their exaction. The scandal, however, was not removed. Nicholas IV. gave to bishops and inquisitors together a power to nominate custodians and administrators of the money wrung from heretics. Finally, the mendicants triumphed when Benedict XI., in 1304, decreed that they were to be freed from episcopal interference and were to render their accounts directly to papal deputies.

Money was now extorted in every conceivable way, and many were the scandals. Benedict himself addressed a warning to the inquisitors of Padua and

Vicenza, from which complaints had been made to Rome; and in 1311, at the Council of Vienne, Clement v., after investigating charges against the Dominicans, put on record that he was convinced they were proven. A crisis was reached when Clement vi., in 1343, discovered that the inquisitors of Florence and Lucca were defrauding the papal Court of its legal share of fines. Avarice corrupted the mendicants, and throughout the history of the Inquisition their zeal for purity of doctrine was stimulated by love of money, which they had vowed not to touch. It is impossible to estimate, at any period, the wealth derived through the Inquisition, the sale of indulgences or benefactions; but the dealings of the English Franciscans with Boniface viii. serve to show that the friars had money when occasion demanded. These Franciscans wished the pope to relax their Rule, so that they might hold lands, and to purchase this relaxation they deposited forty thousand ducats with certain bankers. Boniface showed that a pontiff was not above sharp practices. He pretended to consider the question, and then, refusing the relaxation, seized the ducats on the ground that the Franciscans had no right to possess money. The example of the founders of the Orders, the express directions of the Rules, and their vows, were alike powerless to overcome cupidity.

The inquisitors had far-reaching powers to make them feared. They were authorised to deal directly with suspects, to summon any individual in a case; and were required to answer, when their fame was highest, to the pope alone. The superiors of the Orders, after long years of conflict, ceased to have jurisdiction over the Brothers serving on the

Inquisition; and when Boniface VIII. decreed that they had a power of removal he was practically overruled, tenacious of purpose though he was, when the friars claimed that they must be tried and condemned, and not simply deposed.

The Franciscan superiors endeavoured to preserve their authority by granting commissions for a definite number of years, but the Dominicans were persuaded that such commissions were useless for men who were to be papal servants. The inquisitors were ever in touch with Rome, and their peculiar services, especially the transmission of fines, secured powers which made them independent of all authority save that of the pope.

To outward appearance the inquisitors were still humble friars, as they wore the recognised garments of their Orders, and professed to be poor. Yet their humility was false, and a layman would use the most extravagant phrases of courtesy, saying even: "Your Religious Majesty," and showing himself ever ready to flatter. They were not men to be loved, since tragedy so often went with them; and the local clergy and priests, thinking of their own invaded rights, did nothing to help them to be respected. Heretics saw in them their judges and executioners, and pious Catholics, satisfied to be at peace with their neighbours, looked on them as destroyers of social order. Very early it was said of the Dominicans: "They have created a court of judgment, and whosoever attacks them they declare to be a Waldensian; they seek to penetrate into the secrets of all men, so as to render themselves dreaded."

The secular clergy had another grievance, apart from invaded rights. As preservers of the faith the

inquisitors acted as ecclesiastical police, watching the local priests and reporting on their work to the bishops, who were required to act as ordered. The police work might have produced excellent results, as it was an episcopal service; yet it simply created dispeace. Men, too, severed from the things of the world, might have been expected to direct prince and peasant alike. Had the Orders been wise spiritual Brotherhoods, they might have continued the missionary labours of the founders, and their fervour might have created something at least of that enthusiasm for piety which crowned the efforts of Dominic and Francis. But when the friars, in the years of unimpassioned faith, were drawn from every class of society, without test of qualification for Christ-like service, there was no method of securing pious guides for the people. Undoubtedly, among the mendicants, even when spiritual degradation was the general mark, were to be found the best religious teachers and guides within the Church. Yet it must be asserted that, as a rule, the inquisitors used their powers not to assist individual souls in righteousness, but to spy into the ways of families, to fashion the conduct of men and women, so that the Church might be outwardly reverenced and themselves obeyed. This domestic superintendence made them detested among laymen, as they were hated by the priests, into whose ways they inquired.

The thoroughness and extent of the work of the inquisitors may be discovered from the fact that in 1245 and 1246 examinations were held in six hundred places in Languedoc; and in a single locality, to take an example, four hundred and twenty cases were tried.

In the Courts, in addition to heretics, magicians, sorcerers, and soothsayers were tried ; and the examinations and punishments were the same for the accused, whatever the charge preferred. The use of torture in criminal examinations was extended by Innocent IV. to heresy trials. In 1252 he enjoined civil magistrates in Lombardy and Tuscany to employ torture for extracting from prisoners confessions of guilt and also information regarding their associates.

Mosheim gives a vivid description of the application of torture. "The torture," he says, "was by the rope, by water, and by fire. The rope was passed under the arms, which were tied behind the back of the accused. By this rope he was drawn up into the air with a pulley, and there left to swing for a time, and then suddenly let fall to within half a foot of the ground, by the shock of which fall all his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was tried. After making him drink a great quantity of water he was laid upon a hollowed bench ; across the middle of this bench a stick of timber passed which kept the body of the offender suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the backbone. The most cruel torture was that by fire, in which his feet, being smeared with grease, etc., were directed towards a hot fire, and the soles of them left to burn till he would confess. Each of these tortures was continued as long as in the judgment of the physician of the Inquisition the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated, first to discover the object and motive of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices. If when tortured he

confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was that the accused, when he seemed to have satisfied the judges, was condemned according to the measure of his offence to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities, who were entreated to spare his life, as the Church never thirsted for blood; but yet they would experience persecution if they did not carry the decisions of the Court into execution."

By a strange pretence the cleric who did not plead for mercy for a prisoner became subject to ecclesiastical censure. The custom was of ancient origin, traceable to the time when it was not lawful for a Christian to be the direct or indirect cause of a man's death. The rule had to be relaxed for laymen, but was continued for clerics, who delivered the accused to punishment, and went through the form of asking for mercy. Boniface VIII. decided that bishops must give over culprits to the secular arm, knowing at the same time they would make appeals for pity which would be futile; and, long afterwards, Innocent VIII. excommunicated any magistrate who hindered the execution of a sentence for which a plea of mitigation of punishment had been tendered.

There is a tradition that Dante on one occasion appeared before a tribunal of the Inquisition. The story, which is more than doubtful, is that the Franciscans, annoyed with what was said in the *Commedia* regarding the degeneracy of the Order, brought him to trial. He asked time to prepare a defence, and in a few hours presented the poem,

"Dante's Confession of Faith." When it was read he was at once acquitted. The authorship of the poem, however, is as doubtful as the truth of the story.

Wherever they appeared the inquisitors made papal authority paramount and the pope's name familiar; but they also made that authority irksome and that name greatly to be feared. The idea of Roman supremacy was intruded into family life. Hildebrand, seeing spiritual independence violated by imperial hands, determined to obtain freedom; and, in the strife with Henry, tasting the pleasure of political power, desired to secure lordship over all princes. Now, after Innocent III. had been lord-paramount of the West, his successors were sending their servants into every house; and, making their power real, caused themselves to be feared, and not seldom detested, vice-gerents of God though they were styled. The mendicants, in their first years, carried glad tidings to multitudes, and reverence was paid to him who, professing to be Christ's vicar, was doing His work. In the years when their piety was corrupted they continued to declare the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over all Christendom, over all princes and all prelates; but they could not inspire respect for the man who claimed to be the representative of Christ. And when the Roman power was embodied in inquisitors, and the pope's messengers were spies and then judges, liberty was lost, family peace was ruined, and the name of the Bishop of Rome abhorred.

Hated though they were, the inquisitors were eager for their tragic mission, careless of danger and ready for any death which could be hailed as martyrdom. Their papal commission did not protect them when

men in their wrath rose up against them, heedless of the quarter from which they had come. And sometimes this wrath was furious, meaning danger to the oppressors. As early as 1233 two Dominicans sent to search for heretics in Cordes were slain; and in Narbonne, in 1235, there was a rising in which the Dominicans were driven from the city and their convent sacked.

A dramatic incident occurred in 1235, illustrating the fervour of the inquisitors and the obedience of the friars. Guillem Arnauld, in his pursuit of heretics, summoned twelve citizens of Toulouse to appear for examination regarding their faith. The men happened to be citizens of repute, and instead of obeying procured a magisterial order to the inquisitor to leave the city. Arnauld in turn would not depart, and was ejected. A violent quarrel ensued, but his purpose was not to be thwarted, and after some weeks he requested the Dominican prior of Toulouse to send messengers to intimate to the rebellious citizens that they must appear at Carcassonne. The prior did not hesitate, but, causing the convent bell to be tolled and the friars to be assembled, addressed them, saying: "Brethren, rejoice, for I must send four of you through martyrdom to the throne of the Most High. Such are the commands of our brother, Guillem the Inquisitor, and whosoever obeys them will be slain on the spot, as threatened by the consuls. Let those who are ready to die for Christ ask pardon." Every friar present threw himself on the ground to ask for pardon, and then rose, offering himself to death. In the sequel no one suffered injury. Arnauld, however, was reserved for a death which his friends counted martyrdom, and

which might well be reckoned the just reward of incessant cruelty. He and zealots like him pursued their ways, as ready to die as to kill, and the guilt fastened to the slayer of a cleric alone restrained the hands of men constantly tempted to revenge. In 1242 Arnauld, with certain companions, Dominicans and Franciscans among them, arrived at Avignonet, and entered a castle where they were to hold a Court. The chief man of the district, Raymond d'Alfaro, the representative of Count Raymond, had his master's cause to avenge. He arranged a plot for the destruction of the inquisitors, who one and all, when darkness had fallen, were slain in the hall of the castle. The mace of d'Alfaro crushed the skull of Arnauld.

The career of St. Peter Martyr shows the inquisitor in the unusual character of a saint. Piero da Verona, born at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was the son of a heretic. From his earliest years, the story runs, he showed extraordinary attachment to the orthodox creed, being moved by the Holy Ghost, and in 1221 he became a member of the Dominican Order. As a friar he was guiltless of sin, and also as an inquisitor, and in his conduct he exhibited all the virtues of the Christian life. Miracles were at his command to aid him in his work of conversion. In 1233 he became inquisitor in Milan, and no long time elapsed till his labours were crowned by the burning of several heretics. So unwearied was he in spiritual toil that his persecutions roused a tumult in Milan, in 1242, which was almost destructive of the city. From Milan he removed to Florence, where the Inquisition may be said to have been founded, and where the conspicuous effect was the increase of heresy.

Piero was delegated to assist Fra Ruggieri, who, enthusiastic though he was, was soon eclipsed by the stranger. Piero's preaching attracted crowds, and he was successful in organising a special guard of nobles for the protection of the inquisitors. The heretics, as opponents of the Church, were under the care of the Emperor Frederick II., and they also were organised. Armed bands were not wont to keep the peace. Two battles were fought in Florence, in both of which Piero as captain was victorious, and heresy and imperialism alike were for a time suppressed. Frederick II. died in 1250, and in the following year the pope, rejoicing in the death of his great opponent, who for political ends protected the heretics, commanded the Inquisition to increase its vigour. Orders were sent to Piero to proceed to Cremona, where, and afterwards at Milan, he laboured so unceasingly that a plot was organised for his murder. Assassins were hired, and on a day when he was journeying with a single companion he was set upon, and his head crushed with a blow. Piero was a martyr, and before a year was a canonised saint. Reverence for his memory did not die. In 1340 the body was translated to the Church of St. Eustorgius in Milan, where a magnificent tomb had been raised for its reception; and in 1586 Sixtus V. spoke of him as the second head of the Inquisition, and styled him its first martyr. Titian and Guido each selected the martyrdom as a subject for his art.

Conrad of Marburg, the confessor of St. Elizabeth, was a Dominican, according to certain writers, though the statement is doubtful. Whatever his ecclesiastical station may have been, he was pro-

bably the most fanatical of all the inquisitors who employed wanton cruelty for the perfecting of the saints, such as Elizabeth of Hungary, and sheer brutality for purifying the Church from heretics. He attempted to establish the Inquisition in Germany, but the Germans, with love of freedom, would suffer no tribunal governed by Rome to be erected in their midst, and some of them, nobles they were, roused by his atrocities, murdered him as an oppressor. He thought like a madman, and acted as a fool, heedless of the warnings of the German prelates; and there were patriots to free their country from his unbridled fury.

The Spanish Inquisition, forming one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Church, was entrusted to the Dominicans. Under the influence of Thomas de Torquemada, Queen Isabella applied to Sixtus IV. to establish the Inquisition in Castile. A papal bull of institution, published in 1478, decreed that the members of the tribunal should be chosen by the sovereigns, to whom all confiscated properties were to be given. In 1483 Torquemada himself was appointed chief inquisitor of Castile, and, a few years later, of Aragon.

Every year, at the beginning of Lent, the clergy were required to rouse the people to give information against all persons suspected of heresy. Spies were employed; false witnesses found their vocation; torture was used to wring confessions.

In 1481 the Spanish holocaust began when six victims perished at Seville, and before ten months had passed two hundred and twenty-eight persons were burnt in that city. In a few years the victims

throughout the country numbered two thousand, while thousands of men, after fines, confiscation of property, loss of civil rights and even of personal liberty, were restored to the Church. The Jews, not an insignificant portion of the population, suffered terribly. Some of them had voluntarily accepted Christianity, and not a few had attained high position in the State. The Christianised Jews were the special objects of Torquemada's suspicion, and the men who remained true to their national faith were treated as dangerous enemies of the Cross. A general order was passed by the sovereigns, in 1492, that all Jews must be baptized or, if steadfast in their religion, quit the country. It has been reckoned that one hundred thousand Jews left Spain, while as many remained and were baptized. The unfortunate people suffered that the Christian Church might be purified in the eyes of Torquemada and his friars.

A contemporary painting shows a procession of Jews and Jewesses to the stake, during the festivities in Madrid, in 1680, which attended the marriage of Charles II. One of the victims of 1680 was a beautiful Jewish girl, in her seventeenth year. Passing to the place of burning, she cried to the queen, who was a spectator: "Great queen, is not your presence able to bring me some comfort under my misery? Consider my youth, and that I am condemned for a religion which I have sucked in with my mother's milk." The queen did not answer, turning away her eyes.

The atrocities of Torquemada's rule increased, and Rome again and again interfered, though with partial effect. The Dominicans professed to be obedient servants, but they were not easily controlled. The

Inquisition continued as an ecclesiastical Court in Spain till the year 1813, when it was finally abolished. Long before that year, however, the tribunal had become harmless.

In Spain there was a custom which illustrated the wanton cruelty tincturing the orthodox theology. The victim of the Holy Office was led to the flames, dressed in garments covered with representations of devils and scenes of torture, and these were intended to show what the Most High had prepared for the enemies of the faith. It was everywhere the same teaching, that the earthly was the prelude to the eternal punishment. "It is horrible," says Lecky, "it is appalling, to reflect what the mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter of the heretic must have suffered from this teaching. She saw the body of him who was dearer to her than life, dislocated and writhing and quivering with pain; she watched the slow fire creeping from limb to limb till it had swallowed him in a sheet of agony, and when at last the scream of anguish had died away and the tortured body was at rest, she was told that all this was acceptable to the God she served, and was but a faint image of the sufferings He would inflict through eternity upon the dead."

The Inquisition had most noted apologists, among whom was Thomas Aquinas; but it may be safely affirmed that Francis, if not Dominic, would have condemned its practices. The association of the Minorites with persecution and cruelty was the sign of radical change in their ideal. Imitation of the life of Christ was for Francis the method of salvation, and in that imitation was the winning of sinners to holiness by the charm of love. He was content to be in the

Church, though alien to its paramount aims, so long as he enjoyed liberty for the labours which charity inspired. It is strange indeed that with his courage he did not assail Innocent III. for the violence of the crusade, which the pope himself justified by the declaration: "He that taketh away the faith stealeth the life; for the just shall live by faith." Francis, however, was the director of a mission, not an accuser of dignitaries or a critic of papal plans. The secret of his power was charity, which could not contradict itself through the atrocities of an Inquisition. When, therefore, the Minorites engaged in cruelties, they showed themselves fallen away from the high purposes of their founder.

The Dominicans, too, as the stern ministers of the Inquisition, forsook the aims of their saint. Dominic was concerned to have religion taught so that men might not be carried about with every wind of doctrine, and that wanderers might be brought back to recognised beliefs and established customs. The force he desired to employ was intellectual or spiritual. Persuasion rather than coercion was his method.

There is a sense in which the persecution of heretics by the mendicants may be understood, though never justified. Their teaching in the days of their religious strength stimulated men to think, and to know themselves as responsible beings. In the revival of thought, when spiritual interests were awakened, there was danger to the dogma. Heresy must not be suffered to attack the truth, of which the Church was guardian; and they who had made attacks possible must prevent them. Humbert de Romanis, a noted Dominican, declared that, "even if the pope were a heretic, he

should be punished." An apologist may plead that the mendicants guarded the sacred possessions of the Church, persuaded that the sanctity of their mission, the honesty of their purpose, and the worth of the dogma justified their use of cruelty.

It would be idle to estimate the injury to religion had there been no check to religious vagaries; idle, too, on the other hand, to value the boon had freedom of thought been permitted. Yet it is to be asserted that had there been liberty to try the things of religion the dogma would not have become a dead mass, and the Reformation, as a revolt against an irrational authority, might not have taken place.

CHAPTER VII

The Mendicants and Scholasticism

The mendicants, attracting good and clever men to their Brotherhoods, gave masters to the different provinces of activity; and an influence such as they manifested in piety and politics was exercised in philosophy and theology. An Aristotelian renascence was affecting thought at the period of the foundation of the Orders, and its significance was not to be neglected by defenders of the Church. Philosophy might attack and injure religion, and could not be ignored. Theology, too, required rational treatment at a time when ancient ideas were contrasted with Christian, and received no slight commendation.

Before the appearing of the friars, speculation had been deemed hostile to religion; and the new Aristotelians, the Arabic philosophers, recognising no priestly authority, drew to their side many who cherished freedom that they might follow after truth. This freedom was counted dangerous, but it might be kept in check were philosophy assigned the task of protecting religion by vindicating the dogma. The purpose of the thinkers in the ranks of the mendicants was to present in intelligible form "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," and, as this aim demanded full and thorough knowledge, they turned with enthusiasm to

learning and with eagerness to speculation. The thirteenth century, which witnessed the changed and friendly attitude of the Church to philosophy, is to be reckoned an epoch in the history of thought.

The schools founded by Charlemain gave an impulse to the education of the West. Logic was fostered, and, where there were thinkers, esteem for the name of Aristotle. Churchmen from the first had appreciated the need of logic for the defence of the faith, but from the second century, it is said, had looked on Aristotle as an enemy of Christianity, and on philosophical speculation as destructive of orthodox belief. There is a tradition that two noted heretics of that century styled him their teacher. The Church's attitude to philosophy was generally hostile, and was maintained down to the age when Abelard disturbed the tranquillity of the pious Bernard.

By long tradition philosophy was thus associated with heresy, and yet the mendicants braved this tradition. They did more, however, than merely cast aside a prejudice. Avicenna's adaptation of Aristotle, and the interpretations of Averroës and other Arabic commentators, were rendered into Latin; and of these the mendicants, contrary to the fashion of churchmen, made an intelligent and exhaustive study. Aquinas, too, with a scholar's instinct and a philosopher's ambition for truth, caused translations to be made directly from the Greek. By the labours of the mendicants the reputation of Aristotle was changed, and his influence transferred to the defence of the faith.

While Aristotle was greatly suspected by the Fathers of the Church and the guardians of the dogma, Plato, with his idealism, was not alien to Christian faith

setting towards the unseen. Platonism, through the Jewish-Alexandrian schools, left an impress on the New Testament, and, later, affected directly the scientific presentation of the dogma. Neo-Platonism, too, was not wholly divergent from Christian doctrine when, for instance, it sought to bring God and man into a unity of thought such as was implied in the Incarnation. A lasting impulse to the study of Plato was given when Augustine made use of fragments of his teaching. It was, however, the controversy respecting universals which made Plato and Aristotle prominent in the eyes of churchmen. Bœthius, translating from Porphyry, wrote: "Next concerning genera and species, the question indeed, whether they have a substantial existence, or whether they consist in bare intellectual concepts only, or whether if they have a substantial existence, they are corporeal or incorporeal, and whether they are separable from sensible things or are only in those things, and subsisting about them, I shall forbear to determine." The problem thus stated was not simply one of philosophy, as was shown in the controversy regarding the doctrine of the Real Presence. John Scotus Erigena, the philosopher of the ninth century, in the progress of this controversy, took the position of champion of realism, a Platonist after a fashion, but none the less his freedom of speculation alarmed the orthodox. He contended that the true religion is the true philosophy, and the true philosophy the true religion. This identity made the pious suspect Erigena and tremble for the faith, though he named the name of Plato. Moreover, the hostility to philosophy increased when, with its theories of universals, it examined the doctrine of the Real Presence. The

theologians were alarmed when their assertions were tested by reason.

The tenth century, pre-eminently the dark age, has been described by Baronius as a time when Christ was asleep in the ship. Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., was a student of physical science, and in the superstition rampant at the close of that age he was judged to be in league with Satan. At the end of the first millennium of Christian history thought was re-awakened, and once more the problem of universals attracted notice. Nominalism, at that time traced to the Aristotelian teaching, was set forth as the theory that our knowledge of things is given through the senses; and opponents were able to show it dangerous to religion, because destructive of such doctrines as the Incarnation and the Real Presence. Realism, on the other hand, was used to defend these very doctrines. Aristotle and Plato were once more put forward as the opponent and defender of the dogma; while discussions passed into contests between reason and faith, freedom and authority.

Anselm, distinguished in his own age and not yet forgotten for his subtle thought, used the weapons of a philosopher within the domain of theology. His saying, *Credo ut intelligam*, established his orthodoxy, and presented a method to thought; yet the effort to understand, though following belief, quickened speculation and endangered faith. His cherished purpose, however, was to verify faith that it might become truth for the intellect, and his trust in the divine character of the dogma, which prescribed the content of faith, made him fearless in his speculative mission.

Anselm, in part responsible for the changing attitude

of the Church to philosophy, did not carry the method of free, scientific inquiry to theology, as the famous Abelard professed to do. The dogma, indeed, suffered nothing at the hands of Abelard; his speculations were pushed to no extravagant length and directed to no fantastic topic, yet he was zealously watched as the champion of freedom of thought. In his theory of conceptualism there was nothing to alarm the most prudent guardian of the faith. Battles of words, however, were dear to him, and there was no sacred place of belief guarded against his entrance. He did not attack the Church's teaching, but sought a guarantee of truth higher than the mere authority of a council or pope. The dogma must be tried by reason, and when he examined the doctrine of the Trinity he gave Bernard of Clairvaux his opportunity to crush him under ecclesiastical censure.

These two men represented authority and reason. Bernard was a dogmatist. The faith had been entrusted to official guardians, and must be preserved. Abelard would try it, to see that it was the truth of God. Their contrast bears yet a further significance. The one stood for piety, the other for science; or again, the one represented mystic, the other scholastic theology. Abelard's strife was not in vain, and he prepared the way for the mendicants, who in due time, if they did not assert the supreme right of reason, recognised its use in the work of systematising and explaining the dogma. Peter the Lombard, marking a reaction from Abelard, though proving his influence, helped in a limited degree the progress of theological thought. Abelard had attempted to systematise in his *Theologia*, and had appealed to the Fathers in his *Sic*

et Non, setting one against the other, and accepting or rejecting their teaching at his pleasure. The Lombard, on his part, collected testimonies, harmonised them, and used them for a defence of the dogma. He was progressive, in so far as he appealed not to the finding of a council or pope or to the word of a dictator such as Bernard, but to the collective wisdom of the best thinkers of the Christian ages. He would not stifle the clamour of reason: he would satisfy it, in a fashion not dangerous to the Church. Authority triumphed, while a semblance of freedom was granted.

The Lombard, in spite of his orthodoxy, was opposed from different directions. Walter of St. Victor represented those who rejected philosophy as dangerous to religion; while Joachim of Flora prophesied, and many believed, that a time would come when contemplative piety would conquer, crushing speculation and destroying doubt.

The thirteenth century was an age of activity. In the pontificate of Innocent III. the Latin kingdom of Constantinople was established; and, while it endured, certain scholars of the West obtained facilities for acquiring a knowledge of Greek and gaining acquaintance with ancient manuscripts. Before the establishment of that kingdom, however, there were indications of the renascence of thought, traced to the influence of the Arabic commentators on Aristotle. Heresy, as by use and wont, accompanied this revival of speculation. A system of pantheism, based, it was said, on Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism, was enunciated by Amalric of Bène and David of Dinant. In 1204 the university of Paris condemned the doctrine, and, after

an appeal to Rome, Amalric was compelled to retract his teaching. In 1210, by an order of the Synod of Paris, the works of David of Dinant were burnt, and at the fourth Lateran Council those who professed his doctrine were condemned as heretics. In the year of that Council, 1215, a papal legate prohibited the study of Aristotle in the university of Paris; and so late as 1231 Gregory IX. required that certain writings, among these the physical books of Aristotle, should not be read "until they shall have been examined and purged from all heresy." A few years later, when the mendicants had appeared, works of Aristotle were among the text-books in use in Paris, and the Aristotelian metaphysic was employed in the service of orthodoxy. Aristotle himself was no longer hated as the enemy, but honoured as the forerunner of Christ.

The first of the mendicants to render important service to theology, by the aid of philosophy, was Alexander of Hales. A Gloucestershire man, he wandered to Paris, where, after a career as student, he continued to teach till his death in 1245. In 1222 he joined the Franciscans, and, refusing to renounce his title of doctor, was the first of his Order to bear the dignity. He was styled Doctor Irrefragabilis, and, according to some, Theologorum Monarcha. In his chief work, *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, God, creation, redemption, the sacraments were among the subjects treated. The book, though based on the Lombard's *Sentences*, was more than a commentary. Using the materials of the Lombard, he attempted a scientific treatment of theology, and introduced ideas from the metaphysic of Aristotle and methods from the logic. He was the first churchman to show an extensive

knowledge of Aristotle, and to employ it in the service of orthodoxy.

John Fidanza, or Bonaventura, as he is generally styled, while aiming at no scientific presentment of the dogma, illustrated the new position of the Church in relation to philosophy. He was born in 1221, and, according to tradition, owed his name to St. Francis, who, after working in him a miraculous cure, gazed on him and exclaimed, O buona ventura! Joining the Minorites in his twenty-second year, he was chosen in 1256 general of the Order. When he died in 1274 he was Bishop of Albano and a cardinal of the Church; and, tradition says, he had refused the archbishopric of York and, highest of all, the papal dignity. Two centuries later he was canonised by Pope Sixtus IV. It was said, in reference to his saintliness, that "all men were born with original sin except Bonaventura."

The life of Francis by Bonaventura is the biography of a loving disciple; and, charmed by it, Dante drew the picture of the saint in the *Paradiso*. The beauty of his Latin hymns captivated admirers of literature, and touched the hearts of the pious; and in majestic verses Bonaventura manifested the religion which found help for action and ease for trouble in contemplation of the cross of Christ.

Thus did he sing of that cross—

"Quum quiescas aut laboras,
Quando rides, quando ploras,
Doles sive guadeas,
Quando vadis, quando venis,
In solatiis in pœnis
Crucem corde teneas."

In his metaphysic Bonaventura was a Platonist,

after the fashion of Augustine, holding that ideas are not in *rerum natura*, but are thoughts in the divine mind, according to which actual things are formed. The characteristic of his teaching was the doctrine of illumination, a metaphysic of mysticism. Reason, he held, is able to discover certain truths, but it is through illumination that what is highest is known. As the purpose of the religious life is to reach union with God through contemplation, so the greatest attainment of the intellectual life is knowledge acquired through illumination. The practice of the Christian virtues is the necessary preparation for illumination, which further requires prayer with contemplation passing into ecstasy. Mary, who sat at the feet of Christ, and Francis, obtained the closest union with the divine.

Bonaventura distinguished between the *lumen inferius*, the means of sense-perceptions; the *lumen exterius*, which gives us aptitude for the mechanical arts; the *lumen interius*, by which philosophical perception is attained; and the *lumen superius*, which is grace. This light of grace reveals, on the one hand, the sanctifying virtues; and, on the other, shows us universals in their reality in God. A limit is here set to reason, and the highest truths are placed beyond the reach of ordinary knowledge.

A mystic is not captivated by speculation, but in seeking a justification of his system he must turn to philosophy. Bonaventura, in the very act of demonstrating the imperfection of ordinary knowledge as a means of reaching the highest truth, turned for aid to Aristotle, while his doctrine of the light of grace showed an impress of Plato. Willingly or unwillingly,

this Doctor Seraphicus, this apologist of the mystics, entered on a rational demonstration of his theories, illustrating at once the Church's treatment of philosophy in the thirteenth century, and the activity of the mendicants in the realm of speculation.

While the Franciscans, Hales and Bonaventura, were employing philosophy, the one to strengthen the dogma, the other to justify mysticism, the Dominicans, represented by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, were christianising Aristotle, creating Christian Aristotelianism. Recognising the fascination exercised by Aristotle over speculative minds, and also the advantage of pressing him into the service of the Church, they adopted his philosophy, having made their own interpretation, and placed him as an authority alongside of the Fathers. From the Fathers and Aristotle baptized into their faith they endeavoured to satisfy every objection to the dogma, thus giving to theology a cast of reason. There was danger, no doubt, to orthodoxy when innumerable objections were stated, even while they were to be rejected, but there was also the Inquisition to crush the unwary who should attack official truth. The dogma was to be rationalised, or shown to be not contrary to reason, and freedom of discussion was to be allowed. At the same time, the creed was to be preserved, and not one jot or tittle was to pass away. The Dominicans were jealous for the dogma, as the Pharisees aforetime for the law.

Albertus, son of Herr von Bollstädt, was born at Laningen in Swabia in the year 1193, and was educated in the university of Padua, some say Pavia. For ten years he was a constant student of Aristotle, and in 1221 or 1223, under the influence of Jordan

of Saxony, entered the Dominican Order and began the systematic study of theology. His later life was full of varied work, as he discharged the duties of a professor in more than one university, laboured as provincial of his Order in Germany, and occupied the high position of Bishop of Regensburg. Apart from his philosophical study, he earned the reputation of being the most learned man of his time in natural science, and for his wide erudition was styled Magnus, and Doctor Universalis. His nickname, "Ape of Aristotle," indicated the line of his study.

Albertus, as a commentator of Aristotle, presented the novel spectacle of a thinker busying himself with ideas outside the pale of theology, and working without fear of the penalties of the Church. Old things, and with them the suspicion of science, were passing away. Before entering the Dominican Order, Albertus had made a reputation in natural science. When he became a friar he turned to theology, but the results of his scientific investigations were gathered together as a *Summa Philosophiæ Naturalis*, commonly styled *Philosophia Pauperum*, since the intention was to furnish the mendicants with a knowledge of Aristotle's physics.

As a theologian, Albertus, dealing with the problems of the being of God, creation, the soul, sin, angels, with the whole content of theology exclusive of revealed religion, showed himself the typical scholastic rationalising the dogma. Aristotle, no longer the enemy, was the forerunner of Christ; and the function of philosophy, of Aristotelianism, was to set forth in system the content of theology, and to demonstrate the rationality of the doctrine of the Church. Revealed

religion came within the sphere of philosophy when it was shown to be above but not contrary to reason. Seeing clearly that the process of rationalising must be confined to Christianity as natural religion, he placed revealed religion outside any possible philosophical system. Truth to which the philosopher attains is also the possession of the theologian, but specific doctrines of Christianity, the Trinity and the Incarnation, though not opposed to it, are beyond reason. Thus did Albertus mark off natural from revealed religion, and separate philosophy from theology.

Albertus has been styled Magnus, and yet his fame has been eclipsed by that of his distinguished pupil, Thomas Aquinas. Between the two, however, though jealousy might have produced estrangement, an unbroken friendship was maintained. Thomas, born in 1227, was one of the sons of Landolf, Count of Aquino. In his sixteenth year he entered the Dominican Order, and in due course taught in Cologne and then in Paris, where he joined in the controversy with William of St. Amour, defending the idea of mendicancy. After a life of unceasing intellectual labour, during which he was styled Doctor Angelicus, he died in 1274, and fifty years later was canonised.

The medieval striving after unity is illustrated in the life-work of Thomas. As one Church and one State existed, in idea at least, so should there be one science, with God as centre, correlating all knowledge. Philosophy, theology, and natural science, as members one of another, could not and should not be opposed. The Church, Thomas maintained, might of course pronounce a theory untenable or a doctrine heretical, but its duty was to welcome all knowledge and to foster all

scientific inquiry, that men might attain a fuller understanding of God.

The famous *Summa*, based on the idea of a unity of the sciences, dealt in the first portion with theology. The second part was an ethical disquisition, in which Aristotelian influence was predominant. The doctrine of the mean found its place for discussion alongside of the will, passion, habit. In yet another division of the book the theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, were treated; while the active and contemplative life, the status of priests, monks, and friars, were examined.

The method adopted by Thomas in this work was to set forth a thesis, to assail and defend it, and to reach conclusions with the aid of authorities. Learning, subtle ingenuity, philosophical acumen, were mixed with childish argumentation and fanciful speculation. The book was comprehensive, indeed, suggestive of a correlation of knowledge, but its completion was a task beyond one man's power. None the less, it was a monumental work, testifying to the intellectual character of the writer and to the ambition of the age. A demonstration of the faith of the Church for the Church, the book was accepted by the Dominicans as the scripture of orthodoxy, while the writer was honoured as the first of theologians.

In spite of the ideal of unity, Thomas drew a line between philosophy and theology. "It is impossible," he said, "for the natural reason to arrive at the knowledge of the divine persons. By natural reason we may know those things which pertain to the unity of the divine essence, but not those which pertain to the distinction of the divine persons, and he who attempts

to prove by the natural reason the trinity of persons, detracts from the rights of faith."

He held, however, that it was the function of philosophy to show that reason was not contradicted in the dogma. Assured that the authority of Christian writers would appeal to none but orthodox believers, he addressed to men outside the Church the work variously styled, *De veritate catholica, Summa philosophica, Ad Gentiles.* His purpose was to show that subjects, such as God, creation, providence, could be rationally demonstrated; while, on the other hand, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, baptism, and the eucharist could be shown not to contradict reason.

In the age of quickened thought Thomas was preeminently the apologist of the dogma, and no Abelard was found in his own day to impugn his logic. Though he engaged in the impossible task of embracing all knowledge in one science, he rendered service by his scientific presentation of theology. His title to fame, perhaps his greatest, rests on the fact that he welcomed philosophy as a means to establish the truth in the dogma. In reason itself he found a process of revelation, and did not set it in sharp opposition to the specific revelations of Christianity. Knowledge derived through natural or supranatural means is one and the same, and truth is not divided. Truth, he maintained, can always be shown to be rational, or as not contradicting reason.

While Thomas failed to reduce all knowledge to one science, in which theology was to find a place, he assisted in realising another ideal, of supreme importance in medieval times. Innocent III., as political dictator of the West, marked the supremacy of the Church,

and theology was of course its possession. Thanks largely to Thomas, the Church now ruled philosophy and science. Ecclesiastical influence doubtless stimulated thought for a time, but when it limited the freedom of speculation it destroyed the necessary condition of progress. None the less, the work of Thomas made for the advancement of thought. There was, indeed, but an accidental fellowship between mendicancy and philosophy; and yet to the mendicants, notably the Dominicans at first, is to be ascribed the fostering of science and the love of learning. From them came Albertus, who recognised in Aristotle the forerunner of Christ, and Thomas, who found in knowledge a pathway to God.

Among the Thomists there were Augustinians and Cistercians, and, at a later period, Jesuits and Carmelites of Spain, who showed that the disciples and followers of Thomas were not confined to the Dominican Order. The greatest to be named with the Thomists was Dante, who, though Franciscan in many sympathies, turned to Albertus in natural science, and in theology and philosophy to Thomas.

In the majestic verse of the *Divine Comedy*, Dante told the story of the Empire and the Church judging the dead; and, as he passed through hell and purgatory to paradise, discoursed now on politics, now on theology, now on philosophy, as one who had learned as a pupil and thought as a master.

It was natural, in the association formed between philosophy and theology, that some one should attempt to show that the reservation of revealed truth from the examination and judgment of reason was impolitic and needless; and in due time the Franciscan Raymond

Lully, born in 1235, came forward, contending that it belongs to philosophy to give rational proof of the whole dogma, the Trinity and the Incarnation included. Lully attempted this proof, arguing at the same time that it did not increase the value of belief to receive things beyond rational demonstration. Philosophy and theology, however, were not to be identified; but, on the contrary, as new thinkers arose, their close relationship was to be questioned.

It was possible with Lully to assert the supremacy of philosophy, and it was also possible to narrow its sphere. Duns Scotus marks a reaction from Thomas, as he placed among the articles of faith certain doctrines, such as the beginning of the world in time and the immortality of the soul, which the great Dominican had sought to prove. Duns set himself to examine the speculative method of Thomas, that the content of faith might be determined, and built up a reputation as a critic, securing followers among the Franciscans. Rivalry may have exerted little influence on Duns himself, but undoubtedly it excited the Scotists in opposing the Thomists.

The birthplace, even the country, of John Duns Scotus is unknown, as *Scotus* is indefinite. He was born in 1274; and in 1300 was in Oxford, a member of the Franciscan Order, and in 1304 in Paris. Wadding asserts that he proceeded to Cologne in 1305, and to Toulouse in 1307, though these dates have been questioned. Appearing in Oxford as a writer on Aristotle, he became famous in Paris as the defender of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, acquiring the title of Doctor Subtilis. He is said to have examined some two hundred propositions in reference to

this doctrine, and we are told that on one occasion the Virgin herself bowed the head of an image in reply to a prayer for aid in the argument.

Duns was a careful student of Aristotle, and it was revealed to him that the Greek philosopher was not the Christian before Christ whom Albertus and Thomas had discovered. Aristotle as an aid to Christian thought was tried and not seldom found wanting; and arguments based on misunderstandings of his teaching were cast aside. The whole Thomist position was examined, and criticism weakened, if it did not destroy, the intimate association of philosophy and theology. Duns, however, did not lay himself open to a charge of heresy. On the contrary, he was zealous, as ever Dominican was, for the stability of the dogma. While he could reject arguments for the faith, whether derived from Aristotle or not, he found no difficulty in professing to believe doctrines which had no biblical foundation. It was enough that the Church should determine objects for belief, since it was the living voice of revelation, the organ of the Holy Spirit for declaring truth. The decrees of the Church, and not the Bible by itself, constituted for him the supreme authority in religion. Duns saw with perfect clearness that this authority, and the doctrines established by it, could have no philosophical justification, and hence that theology was not akin to other sciences. His strong assertion, however, of the Church's right to determine the creed saved him from persecution, and helped to guard the faith from the attacks of reason.

Thomas, distinguishing faith from reason, had made this declaration: "Sacred doctrine uses human reason not for proving faith, for through this the merit of

faith would be lost." His effort, none the less, was to connect the two processes as steps leading towards the knowledge of God. The result was that by limiting the truths assigned to faith he lessened its merit, and impaired the authority of the Church which decreed the content of faith. Duns, on his part, reduced the function of philosophy, rescuing doctrines from its charge, and increased the merit of faith, determining it as belief in truths above and beyond reason. Theology in his judgment was not a speculative science, and he asserted that what is true for it might be false for philosophy. He showed, too, the essential difference between the philosopher and the theologian when, for example, he pointed out that the one recognised the existing order as natural, while the other viewed it as the result of the Fall.

Duns was an indeterminist in his doctrine of human will, while he separated the understanding from the will of God. The divine understanding, he maintained, works *naturaliter*, and is the ground of what is necessary; while the will acts *libere*, and is the cause of all that is contingent. There is no necessity in the order of things, which is simply dependent on the divine will. As this is a world of contingencies, and God might act otherwise than He does, there can be no rational justification of certain parts of the dogma, and these therefore become objects of faith. The creation of man, the Incarnation, to take examples, have in them no element of necessity. Further, good is good, evil is evil, because of the will of God. This doctrine was contrary to that of Thomas, who taught that the divine will is rationally determined, and that God orders what is good because it is good.

In regard to universals, Duns agreed with Albertus and Thomas, that they exist *ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem*. He refused, however, to recognise with them that matter is the determining principle of individuality. An animal becomes man, he argued, by addition of humanity; man becomes Socrates by addition of Socratitas. Not matter but form is the essence of individuality. In the teaching of Thomas the individual, by its characteristic of matter, is essentially defective. Duns, substituting form for matter, saw in the individual the realised purpose or end of nature.

This recognition of the value and dignity of individual things had important bearing on the teaching of William of Occam, who was at once the disciple and opponent of Duns.

Duns is remembered in the history of thought as a critic rather than as a system maker, though men were called by his name. Without openly declaring in favour of the divorce of faith from reason, he aided the separation by his doctrine of double truth. He was not, however, to be the saviour of philosophy. In reality he was a strong defender of the Church. The man of simple understanding, bewildered when dialecticians argued and theologians wrangled, required guidance in faith, and Duns, if he did no other work, fostered the assurance of the Church in the value of its own authority, and its power to minister peace to the doubter.

The declaration of the separation of philosophy from theology, in a sense the death blow of scholasticism, is associated with the name of William of Occam. William, styled of Occam from his birthplace in

Surrey, was born probably in one of the last years of the thirteenth century, and died—again the date is uncertain—in 1349. He was a student and teacher at Oxford, a teacher also at Paris, and a member of the Franciscan Order.

William was an ardent student of logic, a keen opponent of realism. The individual, he held, is the only reality. The universal is but "a mental conception signifying univocally several singulars," and has no reality apart from the mental act which produces it. *Universalia in mente* do not therefore exist as distinct entities; and *universalia ante rem* are not substantial existences in God, but are His knowledge, not of universals, but of singulars which alone have existence. Occam was an individualist, though he and his followers were styled Nominalists. From his doctrine of individualism the separation of philosophy and theology followed. That which exists is the individual, and our knowledge cannot transcend experience. Belief in that which is beyond experience belongs to faith, and we have no rational knowledge of the content of revealed religion. Thus the dogma is separated from reason, theology from philosophy.

Occam's denial of the existence of universals in the mind of God, antecedent to and separate from individual things, associates itself with his doctrine of the divine will. Ideas with a separate existence in the divine mind, as models of things, would determine the divine will, destroying its freedom. That will is undetermined, according to Occam, and there is no necessity in God's actions. Necessity does not therefore lie at the root of such doctrines as the Incarnation,

and these doctrines therefore admit of no rational exposition. Philosophy has no function to demonstrate the truths of revealed religion, since necessity is not bound up with their nature. It follows, too, that since God acts from mere good pleasure, there is no necessity to be found in the precepts of morals. They must be obeyed because God orders them, but it is conceivable that good might have been evil, or evil good, since God exercises His will according to pleasure and not according to necessity. Occam, too, like Duns, was an indeterminist in his doctrine of human will.

The chasm between reason and faith was made apparent in the teaching of Occam, especially as an examination of specific doctrines showed to his satisfaction that they were contradicted by reason. Thomas had assailed, and at the same time successfully defended, every doctrine of the Church. Occam, on the other hand, attacked, but offered no rational defence. Transferring the dogma to the region of faith more effectively than Duns, he, too, helped to strengthen the Church's authority, and avoided the charge of heresy by professing the doctrine of double truth. This doctrine was in the last degree dangerous to the stability of the dogma and to morals, but it secured its adherents from persecution, and the Church was content that its creed should be alienated from reason.

The teaching of Occam had an important bearing on religion, which was no longer confused with either knowledge or speculation. By checking argumentation it directed attention to the facts of the gospel. In this manner religion gained, but there was also serious loss. For spiritual truth no basis was shown

except the Church's authority. Philosophy was not even required to demonstrate, as the earlier scholastics hoped it would, that the dogma was not opposed to reason. On the contrary, philosophy, as an exercise for logicians, might reduce the creed to a set of irrational propositions, and leave it with no defence save the assertion of its truth by the representatives of an institution. The Church, however, was all-powerful, rejoicing in the pride of authority; and not yet were philosophy and science to have freedom to pursue their mission, but were even excluded from serving as aids to faith.

In the century before Occam appeared Roger Bacon had sought to pursue science, and had suffered and failed. Albertus Magnus, by the studies of his earlier years, gave an impulse to research; and it was possible that some one would arise, eager for science for its own sake, determined to investigate nature without priestly guidance or interference. Roger Bacon did not and could not separate from the Church. In spite, however, of professions, of ecclesiastical or theological interests, his mastering desire was to observe and understand the things of nature. Unfortunately for it and him, the fulness of time had not yet come for science.

Bacon was born, it is conjectured, in Ilchester in 1214. He studied in Oxford and Paris, and entered the Franciscan Order. He roused suspicion among the Brothers by engaging in experiments in physics; and it is chronicled that by the year 1267 he had spent two thousand libræ "on secret books and various experiments and languages and instruments and tables." The Superior enjoined him to discontinue his researches

and not to publish his discoveries. A forced exile of ten years in France probably implied that he had disobeyed the injunction. Pope Clement IV. befriended him, asking him to set forth his views on philosophy, but giving him no substantial help for his experiments.

In fifteen or eighteen months works known as *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium* were prepared, in spite of difficulties, and sent to Rome. The difficulties were real. The Franciscans, he wrote, "kept me on bread and water, suffering no one to have access to me, fearful lest my writings should be divulged to any other than the pope and themselves." Clement died and Bacon was left without help. In 1278, at a chapter of the Order at Paris, he was condemned "propter quasdam novitates," and was imprisoned, probably till 1292, the date of the last of his numerous writings. After that year there is no definite information regarding him, though there is the report that at his death he was buried among the Minorites at Oxford.

In his *Opus Majus* Bacon set forth his conception of the true method of study, and demanded that all presuppositions founded on authority and custom should be cast aside. The relations of theology and philosophy were considered, and he had no conviction that reason should not minister to faith. With scholarly instinct he contended, in connection with theology, that Hebrew and Greek should be learned as preliminaries to the study of the Bible and Aristotle. In the same work he dealt with arithmetic, geometry, astrology, music, and optics. Bacon's fame rests, however, on the fact that he was an experimental scientist. To him the thirteenth century awarded that reputation

of trafficking in magic which the tenth century had given to Pope Sylvester II. Bacon, without exaggeration, may be styled a martyr, who lived in an age when the study of the physical works of Aristotle led to talk but not to investigation, and when superstition was too rampant to tolerate even the crude experiments of the beginnings of science.

He is worthy to be remembered, if for nothing else, on account of the enthusiasm which inspired him, amidst natural difficulties and the persecution of enemies, to pursue science for its revelations. In one of his letters addressed to the pope he wrote: "But how often I was looked upon as a dishonest beggar, how often I was repulsed, how often put off with empty hopes, what confusion I suffered within myself, I cannot express to you. Even my friends did not believe me, as I could not explain the matter to them; so I could not proceed in this way. Reduced to the last extremities, I compelled my poor friends to contribute all that they had and to sell many things and to pawn the rest, often at usury, and I promised them that I would send to you all the details of the expenses and would faithfully procure full payment at your hands. And yet owing to their poverty I frequently abandoned the work, frequently I gave it up in despair and forbore to proceed."

William of Occam was the last of the mendicants deserving to be named in the history of philosophy. In him we have the complete separation of philosophy from theology, the demonstration of the impossibility of rationalising the dogma and including it in the content of philosophy. His writings were proscribed by the university of Paris, yet his doctrines became

popular, attracting men beyond the ranks of the Franciscans. Some rejoiced to see piety freed from the subtleties of logic; others recognised that philosophy had been enfranchised, even though the Church was still strong to crush all dangerous speculation. These subtleties Erasmus described as "quibblings about notions, and relations, and formalitations, and quiddities, and hæcceities, which no eye could follow out but that of a lynx, which is said to be able in the thickest darkness to see things that have no existence."

In the domain of dogmatic theology the great schoolmen were pre-eminent, primarily interested as they were in the creed of the Church. The work of Thomas Aquinas, for example, included the presentment of the doctrines of the Trinity, the person of Christ, redemption, the sacraments, grace. The Thomists, among whom the Dominicans were conspicuous, accepted his expositions, while his formidable critics were the Scotists, who, for the most part, were Franciscans. The Dominican spirit manifested itself in conservative orthodoxy; and, on the other hand, the more democratic and progressive Franciscans indulged in criticism and welcomed novelty. This characteristic difference suggests an essential opposition between the Orders, and certainly the idea of rivalry is with difficulty excluded. Preachers and Minorites, in any case, were frequently ranged on opposite sides, as when the immaculate conception of the Virgin was a burning question, or when the infinite or finite magnitude of the first sin was a problem.

The activity of the mendicants in the work of theology may be illustrated from their treatment

of the doctrine of redemption. Aquinas, admitting the death of Christ to be not the only possible means for the remission of sins, argued that it was the most fitting, since it won for men "justifying grace" and "the glory of beatitude." He debated whether Christ suffered as to His divinity or humanity, and further, examined His death under the conception of satisfaction and in relation to merit. Christ, he maintained, since His suffering was voluntary, merited exaltation; and, seeing that exaltation could not be conferred on Him, the reward due to merit passed to the Church of which He is Head. "The head and members are," he said, "as it were, one mystical person, and thus the satisfaction of Christ belongs to all believers, just as to His own members." Duns, in opposition to Thomas, contended that satisfaction and merit have value according to the estimate of the person to whom the satisfaction is made, and that the value of Christ's death was judged according to the good pleasure of God. That value could not be infinite, seeing that sin, for which the death took place, is committed by finite beings; and again, seeing that Christ suffered in His human or finite nature. Then, too, an infinite merit is not possible, as everything is good or bad, small or great, according to God's will, and is not needed, since He can determine the worth of merit at His pleasure. The death of Christ has not, therefore, according to Duns, a merit which passes to the Church, to the members of His mystical body.

Controversy in theology has not been confined to the days of the schoolmen, but the rivalry of the Orders undoubtedly gave sharpness to their strife. The friars wrangled, and many of their disputations

were mere battles of words. These men, however, are not to be ignored, since the history of theology in the pre-Reformation centuries is a chapter in the larger history of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.

In the period of the decline of scholasticism, before Erasmus satirised the quibblings of the schoolmen, the German mystics marked the attempt of piety to free itself from the grasp of logical formulæ, from hard syllogistic expression or presentation, in order to become living religion acceptable to and intelligible by the people. While seeking to change the method and expression of thought, these men did not represent a recoil from metaphysics, a reaction against speculation. On the contrary, in the sermons in which they sought to popularise theology, they indulged in disputation; and Eckhart, the most noted preacher among the mystics, was a thinker whose teaching disturbed the peace of the Church.

Eckhart was born, it is supposed, in Thuringia, somewhere about the year 1260, and was a student and teacher in Paris. He entered the Dominican Order, and in 1304 was provincial in Saxony, and in 1307 vicar-general in Bohemia. His fame as a preacher was spread abroad through Germany. In 1317 the Bishop of Strasburg condemned his doctrine; and at last, in 1327, he was summoned, at the instance of the Archbishop of Cologne, to answer before the Inquisition. Agreeing to recant whatever he had taught contrary to the faith, he appealed to Rome; he died before the papal answer was published, in which twenty-eight theses set forth by him were declared to be heretical. Eckhart, perhaps through the bias of his nationality, was not concerned to

uphold the authority of the Church as a basis of doctrine. His aim was to give an intelligible account of Christianity, and, as a preacher, to present it in attractive form. He was a student of Aristotle, according to the prevailing fashion of his age; but he found in Platonism or Neo-Platonism the ideas which led him to mysticism and caused him, on account of his teaching that God is all and in all, to be suspected of Pantheism.

According to Eckhart, the absolute becomes God only when it utters itself, becomes God as Trinity in the act of self-knowledge. The word which God utters is the Son, and that which binds Father and Son is the Spirit. The act of self-knowledge is God as subject beholding Himself in the Son as object, while the love of the one to the other, springing from this act, is the Spirit. In the Son as the object of this act of self-knowledge is included the totality of things. Thus all things exist in God from the beginning. Yet apart from the world existing in image in His mind, is the world created in time out of nothing. The independent existence of this created world is only apparent, though Eckhart does not explain the apparent independence. He insists that were God to withdraw Himself from the things existing in time they would become nothing. They do not become nothing, however, because there is in them a divine element, which marks an identity with God. That identity is not perfect, on account of another and sensuous element which creates a dualism. In the nature of things, in virtue of God being their essence, communicated by grace, there is the tendency to overcome this dualism and to return to Him. The

return is possible through the human soul, the representative and highest of creation, having the power to think all things and so to make them lose their limitations. The life of the soul is a return to God, and final union can only follow the death of the body. God must be the one object of thought, the human will must suffer negation that it may become one with the divine will. Individuality is in this fashion to be lost, that all creatures may be one; and this one is the Son whom the Father has begotten.

In the ethics of Eckhart, asceticism, exemplified in the fastings and vigils prescribed by the Church, was at most a preparation for the union of the soul with God. The assertion, he declared, that such works effect salvation is the statement of the devil. Eckhart repudiated the Church as a necessary agent in salvation, which is unity with God; and claimed for himself the right, apart from any accredited system, to think out the truths of Christianity.

Eckhart was the master of mystics such as Tauler, the inspirer of the *German Theology* which Luther, in 1518, caused to be published. The unknown author of that work quickened the thought of Luther, preparing him for the revolt; and so the analysis of history places the mystic piety of Eckhart among the innumerable causes of the Reformation, links together the revivals of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and brings into one association of religion Dominicans and Reformers.

Hales, Bonaventura, Albertus, Thomas, Bacon, Duns, Occam, Eckhart, friars each of Francis or Dominic, are not the least in the kingdom of thought.

CHAPTER VIII

The Degradation of the Orders

The intense zeal of Dominic and the fervent piety of Francis, in the custom of experience, continued in individuals but departed from the crowd; and consequently, though the founder's name was preserved in each Order, many of the friars had neither zeal nor piety. The natural history of a revival shows the periods of birth, growth, maturity, decline, and death, and in the mendicant movement these stages, if perhaps we omit the last, may be marked. Mendicancy, a religious revival, was associated with organisations which endured after the extinction of the fire of enthusiasm which had blazed at their foundation. They endured, but their character and reputation changed. Chaucer and Langland, Dunbar and Lindsay, Erasmus and George Buchanan, each held up the friars to scorn; but before Chaucer wrote "The Sompnoures Tale" the degradation of the Orders had begun. As early as 1233 Gregory IX. reminded the Dominicans that their vow of poverty was taken to be kept. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Benedictine, Matthew Paris, wrote in this fashion: "It is horrible, it is an awful presage, that in three hundred years, in four hundred years, even in more, the old monastic Orders have not so entirely

degenerated as these fraternities. The friars, who have been founded hardly forty years, have built, even in the present day in England, residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings. These are they who, enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices, encircling them with lofty walls, lay up within them incalculable treasures, imprudently transgressing the bounds of poverty, and violating, according to the prophecy of the German Hildegard, the very fundamental rules of their profession. These are they who, impelled by the love of gain, force themselves upon the last hours of the lords, and of the rich whom they know to be overflowing with wealth; and these, despising all rights, supplanting the ordinary pastors, extort confessions and secret testaments, boasting of themselves and of their Order, and asserting their vast superiority over all others. So that no one of the faithful now believes that he can be saved unless guided and directed by the Preachers or Friar Minors. Eager to obtain privileges, they dwell in the courts of kings and nobles, as counsellors, chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages; they are the executioners of the papal extortions. In their preaching they sometimes take the tone of flattery, sometimes of biting censure; they scruple not to reveal confessions or to bring forward the most rash accusations." These are the words of a member of one of the old monkish Orders, but as he had praised the friars at an earlier period they may have been dictated by a passion higher than jealousy. Another witness may be cited, one certainly not moved by a sinister passion. In 1257, Bonaventura, the general of the Franciscans, lamented that his Brotherhood was the object of

popular dislike on account of greed, idleness, worldliness, and scandalous conduct. Ten years later he wrote, after noting certain grave faults: "It is a foul and profane lie to assert oneself the voluntary professor of absolute poverty and then refuse to submit to the lack of anything, to beg abroad like a pauper and to roll in wealth at home." In the fourteenth century things were not better, since St. Brigitta in her Revelations, at that time recognised as divinely inspired, spoke thus of the two Orders: "Although founded upon vows of poverty, they have amassed riches, place their whole aim in increasing their wealth, dress as richly as bishops, and many of them are more extravagant in their jewellery and ornaments than laymen who are reputed wealthy."

The love of money was prominent among the causes of the corruption of the mendicants. It captured them, in spite of the vow of poverty. As early as 1230, four years after the death of the saint, certain Franciscan Brothers solicited a papal interpretation of the Rule in respect of the holding of property. Ugolini, Gregory IX., in the bull *Quo elongati*, decided that Francis could not bind his successors, that his Testament was simply a private interpretation of the official Rule, and that agents acting for donors could hold property and spend money on behalf of the friars. This decision marked a relaxation of the vow of poverty, and issued in decadence with evil repute. The decision, moreover, was in accordance with the papal policy to reduce the enthusiasm of the mendicants, especially the Franciscans, to practical sense, so that representing poverty without suffering extreme hardship, and marking no violent contrast between

themselves and the secular priests, they might be revered for piety, and recognised as worthy servants of the Church. The consequences of this policy were far-reaching. The Dominicans retained the name without the character of mendicants, as they ministered to social classes for whose sake it was not necessary to be poor. It was different, however, with the Franciscans, because poverty stamped them as virtuous in the eyes of the people among whom they laboured. The papal policy divided them, and while some listened to Rome, others opposed popes, sided with Imperialists, disobeyed ministers-general, and, endeavouring to keep the vow without subterfuge or attempting to make poverty the cardinal virtue, suffered even torture and death.

One of the lucrative sources of income was the traffic in indulgences. Neither Dominic nor Francis condemned this system of pardons, though the sale was contrary to their professed ideals. Gregory IX., at the translation of the body of Francis, granted indulgences to visitors to the church built by Elias of Cortona, and inaugurated the custom, followed by one pope after another, of enriching the Brothers by associating indulgences with the shrines of saints who had been members of one or other of the Orders. The Portiuncula was the most noted of all the indulgences, as legend ascribed its suggestion to Christ, and gradually its privileges were extended. So widespread was the system that the Dominicans counted as their own three hundred and eighty-two different indulgences granted before the close of the reign of Leo X., and each of these meant wealth. And, as if this wealth did not suffice, Boniface VIII. gave the

Dominicans, when re-building a church in Rome, certain monies obtained from usurers. The friars profited where the defrauded suffered.

Very early in the history of the Orders privileges began to be bestowed, many of which were contrary to the vow and spirit of poverty. Honorius III. gave the Dominicans the right to celebrate mass, when the secular priest was silent, in districts under censure and interdict; and in 1241 they obtained permission to beg within the territories of the excommunicated. Again, while bishops were commanded to absolve the friars after confession, the superiors of the Orders were enabled to free them from penance or ecclesiastical punishment. By other privileges, gradually acquired, the friars were allowed to preach, to hear confessions, and also to bury the dead in the churches of the Orders, and for these offices to exact dues. The result of these benefits was that, from their first intrusion into the various dioceses, the friars were at open feud with the parochial clergy, who found their authority and their incomes alike diminished. Yet these clerics were as a rule ignorant, and sometimes vicious, and it was a relief to laymen to have spiritual guides with a reputation of decency and piety. Innocent III., in a sermon at the Lateran Council, declared that the priests were the chief corrupters of the people, and the statement was endorsed by Honorius III.; while Bonaventura and Aquinas, to take later examples, each denounced the ignorance of the churchmen. So long as the pious reputation continued, laymen flocked to the friars, who had difficulty at first in meeting their wants. And even in the days of their corruption they were in constant requisition, since there were

many who preferred to confess to strangers, whom they probably hoped never again to see.

In addition to preaching, hearing confessions, and officiating at burials, the mendicants administered the sacraments; and naturally, as things spiritual had their price, the priests had no dealings with them. For a short time there was a disputation among the schoolmen regarding the right of the popes to bestow priestly privileges on their new favourites. The argument, however, caused little stir, as the parish clergy, whose province was invaded, were seldom respected. Yet the bishops sided with them, as they also were suffering loss. In the system of confession many cases—reserved cases they were styled—were referred to them. The mendicants, however, disposed of all such business to the financial loss of the episcopal judges, and thus increased the number of their enemies.

It was of advantage to the cause of religion that the dispensers of sacraments and the hearers of confessions should be worthy of honour, and the sanctity of the function might have been expected to conduce to spiritual decency; but none the less the friars, in performing duties for which they obtained money, suffered from the general corruption of the Church. When dogma was but the letter of religion and ritual a masquerade, the Dominicans arose to substitute the spirit for the letter, and the Franciscans to show the beauty of deeds of righteousness; but when they assumed the functions of the seculars their piety lost intensity and their power passed into the conventional authority of churchmen.

Innocent IV., by a bull styled *Crudelissimum edictum*

by the Dominicans, curtailed the privileges of the friars, and, dying soon after its publication, was said to be done to death by their prayers; while the proverb had vogue, "a litaniis prædicatorum libera nos Domine." John XXI., at a later date, showed antagonism, and when the falling roof of his palace destroyed him the friars saw the intervention of God. Honorius IV., too, perished when he was about to issue an order regarding preaching and hearing confessions. There was no continuity in the papal policy, but the Orders, down to the period of the Reformation, suffered but temporary loss of privileges once gained.

Boniface VIII., with characteristic imperiousness, unrepressed by the tragic fate of predecessors, ordained that a friar, before preaching in a parish church, must obtain permission, that a bishop could prohibit him from hearing confessions, and that a quarter of the fees or gifts he received in a district must be given to the priest. The struggle was not yet ended, and one pope after another was involved. Clement VI. received a petition signed by cardinals, bishops, and priests, asking him to abolish the Orders or revoke their privileges, and made answer—

"And if their preaching be stopped, about what can you preach to the people? If on humility, you yourselves are the proudest of the world, arrogant and given to pomp. If on poverty, you are the most grasping and most covetous, so that all the benefices in the world will not satisfy you. If on chastity—but we will be silent on this, for God knoweth what each man does and how many of you satisfy your lusts. You hate the mendicants and shut your doors on them lest they should see your mode of life, while

you waste your temporal wealth on pimps and swindlers. You should not complain if the mendicants receive some temporal possessions from the dying to whom they minister when you have fled, nor that they spend it in buildings where everything is ordered for the honour of God and the Church, in place of wasting it in pleasure and licentiousness. And because you do not likewise, you accuse the mendicants, for most of you give yourselves up to vain and worldly lives."

Clement's words were a rebuke to men who had shamefully neglected duty. The Black Death had mown down multitudes, and everywhere the friars acted as ministers of mercy, gaining gratitude with substantial reward, while the parish priests fled from service. When at last the plague had passed, the priests, seeing the gains of their opponents, sought Clement's aid, and received a deserved rebuke. Two centuries later the plague of 1528 showed that the Franciscans had not forgotten the traditions of their Order. It is difficult, indeed, to understand how men corrupted by wealth should have displayed the zeal for which they were commended by Clement. The explanation, of course, might be that their evil reputation was undeserved. This, however, is certain, that while there were always men in the Orders to soil their fame, there were also men, few at times though they were, who proved themselves worthy to bear the name of Dominic or Francis; and in days of trouble the worthier sort carried with them the baser, who, knowing how to sin, knew also how to obey.

The struggle between the mendicants and the parochial clergy, which continued till the Reforma-

tion, presented within the domain of Christianity the unholy spectacle of a contest for privilege. At the fifth Lateran Council a vigorous attempt was made to end the strife in favour of the clergy; but Leo x., while forced to listen to the woeful tale of the clergy, feared to injure the friars, who could make or mar the authority of a Bishop of Rome.

With fine courtesy Dante put the praise of Francis into the lips of Thomas Aquinas, who at the same time pronounced a condemnation of the Dominicans. Some had returned to the ways of Dominic—

> " But so few they be,
> That little cloth would make their cowls, I trow."

It was Bonaventura whom Dante chose to utter the commendation of Dominic and the censure of the Franciscans. As a Dominican had described his own Order, it was fitting that this characterisation of the Franciscans should proceed from one of themselves—

> " His Brotherhood, that once straight onward moved
> And in his footsteps trod, now turns so far
> That what was foremost now is hindmost proved."

Dante suffered no punishment devised by the Inquisition, but it is not surprising that there should be a story that he was required to give assurance of his faith.

Receiving many favours from Rome, the mendicants were not slow in their gratitude to emphasise the papal theory, the divinely appointed headship of the pope. It was necessary, too, that they should justify the power which bestowed their privileges. The Franciscan Alvarus Pelagius, to take an example from

the fourteenth century, demanded adoration for the Bishop of Rome as a divine person, declaring, at the same time, that from the days of St. Peter the Imperium Romanum belonged to his successors. Among medieval writers, however, it was Thomas Aquinas who stated most clearly the theory that the Church is centred in the pope; and it was laid down by him, "that to be subject to the Roman pontiff is essential to salvation." Long after the days of the schoolmen, when the Councils of Constance and Basel had pronounced against it, Cardinal Torquemada wrote a defence of the papal theory, basing his argument on the teaching of Aquinas, and securing the laudation of Rome. The infallibility of the pope might indeed have been the official doctrine generations before the Vatican Council, had not certain men occupied the papal chair. The Babylonish Captivity, the Great Schism, and the degradation of the age preceding the Reformation were fatal to the progress of that doctrine; as the libertinism of the Court of Avignon, the feuds of rival pontiffs, and the vices of men like Alexander VI. and Julius II. destroyed popular esteem of the papacy, and silenced the advocates of infallibility.

The relaxation of the vow of poverty destroyed the harmony of the Franciscan Order. Pope Gregory IX. found in Elias of Cortona an agent for his purposes. The earliest biographer of Francis, writing while Elias was powerful, represented the saint and the Brother as friendly associates. It is difficult to understand how Francis could have mistaken the man, who was to aid in changing the character of the Brotherhood founded amidst glowing piety and poetic enthusiasm. There is no need to think of Elias as another Judas. He was

anxious for a religious reformation, but the love of power ruined him when he came to govern. Even while he lived in splendour no charge of avarice was preferred against him, and it is evident that he believed the sin of worldliness could be combated though the Order had great possessions. For five years he had governed, with the title of vicar, when Francis died; and it was he who announced the fact of the stigmata to the Brothers, and set about the erection of the splendid basilica which was to contain the body. In spite of his prominence, however, the upholders of the Rule rejected him in 1229, and chose Giovanni Parenti as minister-general. Their fury was roused when they learned that money was being gathered to meet the expense of the basilica. In front of the building Elias had placed a marble box for the gifts of visitors, and it is related that Friar Leo went to one of his companions, asking if he should break it. The answer was: "Yes, if you are dead; but if you are alive, let it alone, for you will not be able to endure the persecutions of Elias." Leo, however, did not wait till he was dead, but with his associates broke the box.

Elias directed the raising of the great church, which was worthy of the fame of the saint, though singularly out of harmony with his poverty; and at last, in 1232, he was elected minister-general. In his official work he proved a tyrant. While vicar he had caused Antony of Padua to be scourged, and now he cast Caesarius of Spires, the provincial of Germany, into a prison, where he died. In arbitrary fashion he refused to summon the chapter, till at last the pope interfered. The opposition to him was widespread, as the zealous upholders of the Rule were joined by the moderate

reformers, such as the friars in England, who desired a relaxation in regard to the pursuit of learning and the holding of property. These moderate men he had harassed in their religious work, and they determined to have him removed. At last, in 1239, Gregory caused a chapter to be held, at which he demanded the resignation of the minister-general. The pope and his former ally were now at enmity. Elias hastened to Frederick II., the opponent of the political power of the papacy, and with him suffered excommunication.

In the legend of Francis it is narrated that the saint learned through a vision that Elias was to revolt against the Order and the Church, and was to be damned. He was able, however, to have the divine sentence reversed, so that Elias, enlightened in his last hour, died pardoned by the pope, and clothed in the Franciscan habit. Before this final reconciliation with the Church, Elias was the supporter of Frederick in his strife with Rome, and was even on one occasion his ambassador at the Court of Constantinople ; but on the death of the emperor he returned to Cortona, where he built a magnificent church for the Franciscans.

Amidst the troubles within the Order two parties were formed, the Spirituals, as they were afterwards named, who professed strict adherence to the Rule, and the Fratres de Communitate, afterwards known as Conventuals from living in convents, who desired its relaxation as experience dictated. One party was in power, and then another. Thus Cresentius, who was minister-general from 1244 to 1248, followed the example of Elias, and, loving the display of wealth and showing a special aversion to poor dwellings, erected splendid monasteries. At the same

time he tried to induce the friars to pursue learning. John of Parma, who followed, was welcomed by the Spirituals as a saviour of the Order.

The question of poverty continued to disturb the Franciscans down to the century of the Reformation. It affected imperial politics when Lewis of Bavaria and John XXII. were at strife, and called forth a mass of writings, associated with such names as Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and William of Occam. Hales, one of the writers of the *Declaratio Quatuor Magistrorum*, sought to justify the changes inspired by Gregory IX.; but he failed to pacify the rigorous Spirituals, who would allow no relaxation, thinking to work out their salvation through the severities of asceticism. They belonged to the great order of fanatics, existing before and through the Christian centuries, who for a spiritual offering render to God the sacrifice of their emaciated or broken bodies. The temperament which led them to asceticism led them to rebel against the Church, which fostered the Conventuals in their freedom; and their pride of faith prepared them for the doctrine that a new religious era was at hand. This doctrine was ascribed to Joachim of Flora, the Baptist of St. Francis, as Renan styled him, whose reputation in the middle of the thirteenth century reached a prominence to which it had not attained in his own generation.

In three prophetic writings Joachim, who lived in the last generation of the twelfth century, declares that there are three ages in the world's history,—the first under the rule of the Father, the second under that of the Son, and the third under that of the Holy Ghost. The second age, of the Son, was to endure for

1260 years, while the third was to be the age of perfection.

In 1254 a book was published, *The Everlasting Gospel*, containing Joachim's three writings with an introduction, in which the evils of the Church were displayed and his prophetic warnings applied. The Order of St. Francis, it was set forth, was to absorb all other Orders, and was to take the place of the Church itself. In this religious society men were to live at peace, were to have all things in common, and misery was to disappear from their midst. That which was most characteristic was the statement that the eternal gospel was revealed by Francis, the angel of Revelation xiv. 6, and that in 1260 it would replace Christ's gospel. John of Parma, charged with being the writer, was compelled to resign his office of minister-general, though the real author, as was afterwards believed, was Gherardo da Borgo San Donnino, who was condemned to imprisonment for life for the crime of publishing the book. John of Parma himself was tried, but acquitted. The book was officially condemned in 1255; but none the less, on account of its expression of opposition to the Church, and its promise of an ideal age of simplicity, it intensified division among the Franciscans.

The Conventuals, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the publication of *The Everlasting Gospel*, instigated Alexander IV. to renew the interpretation of the Rule, made by Innocent IV., so as to allow agents to manage and the Holy See to hold property for the Order. Gregory X., in 1275, endeavoured to reverse this policy, and to secure strict obedience to the Rule, but his effort was vain. Nicholas III., under-

taking a final settlement of the question, published the bull *Exiit qui seminat*, which simply continued the arrangement proposed by Innocent IV. The significant declaration was made that Christ and the apostles had renounced the possession of all property.

In due time a statute of the Order enacted that there should be a procurator attached to each house, to receive money for the friars in name of the Church. This was done "to preserve the Order in its purity, and prevent the brethren being immersed in secular affairs." In spite of the bull the strife was not finished. Brothers who refused to beg for money were imprisoned by their superiors. At last the Spirituals appealed to Clement V. to disjoin them from the Conventuals. The pope was sympathetic, and though not agreeing to separation, issued a decree protecting them from persecution. During the negotiations the extremists among the Italian Spirituals seceded in their impatience and elected a minister-general. Clement was enraged, and the machinery of the Inquisition was put in use. His successor, John XXII., resolved on stamping out insubordination, issued a bull, *Quorumdam*, giving superiors the right to determine the vestments of the friars, and also the amount of grain, wine, and oil to be stored in a convent. Vestments and stores were burning questions, and the pope answered them in common sense fashion. The extreme Spirituals, however, holding that the garments should be but the simplest coverings, and that storage of food indicated a mistrust in providence, denied the right of the pope to interfere with what they counted gospel teaching regarding poverty. The pope declared in reply, that the rejec-

tion of the bull would be punished as a heresy. Thus was a new heresy created, and the inquisitors, Dominican and Franciscan, pursued many of the Spirituals to death.

In the south of France there were violent opponents of Pope John, who saw in him the anti-Christ, and in the Church the harlot of the Apocalypse. These men had been moved by the prophecies of Peter John Olivi, who had arisen in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and by his disciple Ubertino of Casale, who identified the papacy with the beast which rose out of the sea (Rev. xiii.). Under the teaching of Olivi, himself influenced by Joachim of Flora, some of the extreme Spirituals of his own day, obtaining permission from Coelestine V., settled in Greece and on some of the islands of the Archipelago. There they continued, and Boniface VIII., endeavouring to dislodge them, met with violent resistance.

The application of the idea of anti-Christ to a pope was not new. In Swabia, in the thirteenth century, the Dominicans had taught that Innocent IV. was anti-Christ, and the emperor his scourge. "There were two Churches," to use the words of the French Spirituals, quoted in a papal bull, "one carnal, overburdened with possessions, overflowing with wealth, polluted with wickedness, over which ruled the Roman pontiff and the inferior bishops: one spiritual, frugal, without uncleanness, admirable for its virtue, with poverty for its raiment; it contained only the Spirituals and their associates, and was ruled by men of spiritual life alone." The pope, John XXII., not content with the bull from which these words are taken, resorted to the Inquisition. His enemies were violent, and he

would silence them; but, far off though they were, they helped to prepare the way for the Reformation, when attacking the sanctity of popes and making common the thought that the existing Church was not identified with true religion.

While the Inquisition was doing its dread work, events presented a new and serious issue. A Dominican condemned the statement, made by one of the heretics, that Christ had no possessions. The Franciscans, led by Berengar Taloni of Narbonne, deliberated, and in the general chapter held in 1322 formally decided in favour of the doctrine. The bull of Nicholas III. was brought forward, which declared that Christ and the Apostles possessed nothing. In due course an appeal was made to John, who, without definite pronouncement on the question regarding Christ, discussed the practice of the Roman See holding property for the Order, and, in spite of the declarations of predecessors, decided that it must cease. A protest was made, and in the reply—the bull *Cum inter nonnullos*, issued 1323—John asserted that the doctrine that Christ possessed nothing was contrary to scripture. The Franciscans as a Brotherhood were now in open revolt from the pope; while the Spirituals, along with Michael of Cesena, the minister-general, and William of Occam, going further, supported Lewis of Bavaria, who had been excommunicated for assuming the title of King of the Romans. In the Protest of Sachsenhausen, inspired by Franciscans, Lewis examined the pope's treatment of the Order, charged him with heresy, and demanded a General Council. A spiritual opposition against the papacy had now been created.

The battle continued. Michael of Cesena, in a "Tractate against the Errors of the Pope," declared that popes can err, and advocated the calling of a council for the reform of the Church. William of Occam entered the contest, and in many writings denied the claim of the popes to interfere in politics, declared an earthly headship of the Church to be unnecessary, and rejected papal infallibility. The most powerful of the disputants was Marsiglio of Padua, who in the *Defensor Pacis* separated the temporal from the spiritual power, and so limited the spiritual as to destroy the idea of the papacy. Thus again, in the contest regarding the Franciscan Rule, were heard the distant sounds of the Reformation.

In due time the Conventuals returned to papal obedience, while the extreme Spirituals, as the Fraticelli in Italy, were treated as heretics. The general chapter of 1329 deposed Michael of Cesena, and once more adopted the theory that the Order had the use without the ownership of property. William of Occam, who had been excommunicated, remained till 1347 with Lewis of Bavaria, and in 1349, stripped by death of many of his companions, and feeling the pain of isolation, sought reconciliation with the Church.

Mendicancy in itself was doubtless an economic blunder, even a vice, and Wiclif in England openly condemned it. Poverty, not licensed mendicancy, entered into the ideal of Francis; and certainly the combination of possessing property and begging alms formed no part of his scheme of life. The Conventual was worldly, the Spiritual fanatical, and neither followed the founder. It was by no illogical

step, however, that the extreme Franciscans, holding the true Church to be a religious society, opposed the institution with the pope as head. Their dominant theory required all clerics to be poor, to be stripped of social privileges, and cut off from political concerns. Hence, too, there was no contradiction when they ranged themselves with the emperor as the reformer or destroyer of a Church denying the virtue of poverty.

The persecution of the Spirituals was continued by one pope after another. Ultimately they triumphed when the Brethren of the Hermitages, strict observants of the Rule, obtained confirmation. At the Council of Constance, some years after Bernardine of Siena, their recognised founder, had attained notoriety, the Observantines were formally recognised and their separation ratified. The powerful Conventuals objected to an arrangement which curtailed their authority, but little respect was paid to men with a reputation which made Pius II. declare, that while excellent as theologians they were little concerned with virtue. At last Leo X., to end the strife, gave the Observantines the right to select a minister-general.

The Observantines, in the century before the Reformation, attracted men zealous for austerity of conduct, and their organisation marked a revival in the degraded Franciscan Order. Capuchins, Cordeliers, Alcantarines were names testifying to the strictness with which in varied degree the Rule of St. Francis was observed.

No fierce contest regarding property divided the Dominicans, who, shortly after their organisation, ceased in all but name to be poor. A chapter held

in Paris, 1228, determined the *Consuetudines fratrum prædicatorum*, according to which houses of moderate size were to be occupied, though no other property was to be held. No time elapsed, however, till the Dominicans, agreeing with the Conventuals, decided that the Brotherhood, exclusive of individuals, had rights of possession. This decision produced no zealots eager for a harsh ascetic ideal.

CHAPTER IX

The Degradation of the Orders—*continued*

The decadence of the friars was illustrated in their service as ecclesiastical police. That degradation, however, was not as gross as the corruption by wealth. None the less, it told the tale of lost ideals, of spiritual enthusiasm sunk into official activity, of devotion to Christ lowered into zeal for the Church. The mendicant revival had quickened piety, but it had neither elevated clerical life nor purified papal policies, though the inefficiency of priests and the worldliness of popes had created the need for Francis and Dominic. Ugolini's determination to attach the Minorites to the Roman Curia, unnecessary in the case of the Preachers, resulted in the loss to many of the Brothers of that unconventional zeal for the cure of souls which the genius of Francis had inspired. It became a custom with popes to depute Franciscans or Dominicans to deal with local disputes; and while it was beneficial to have reliable commissioners, it was mean work for evangelists to act as parochial judges, and to serve as police prying into the ways of prelates and priests. The popes, however, learned the use and clung to the advantage of having at their command an army to enforce their authority over all clerics in Christendom.

Never were the mendicants further from the purposes of the founders of their Orders than when acting as servants of the Roman bishops, with their schemes of temporal supremacy. In the protracted and fierce quarrel between the Church and the Emperor Frederick II. friars made themselves conspicuous, and unholy was their work. Now they had to preach as apologists for the Church's action, now to stir the emperor's subjects to rebellion, telling scandalous tales to soil his fame. Frederick had taken the crusader's vow in the time of Innocent III., promising to lead a host to the East; and this vow he renewed when crowned by Honorius III. He was in no hurry, however, to seek the Holy Land; and when he set sail at last, in 1227, it was only to turn back his ships after two or three days on the sea. Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius, thereupon passed sentence of excommunication. Frederick was little disturbed by the thought that he was now a spiritual outcast, and after the lapse of a year departed to visit the places hallowed by the Saviour's steps. Probably he expected to be freed from the ecclesiastical ban when by diplomacy or arms he had crowned the crusade with success, but his hope was frustrated on learning that Gregory had commissioned two Franciscan friars to warn loyal churchmen in the East to hold no converse with the excommunicated man. The Franciscans, outstripping Frederick, executed their business with singular zeal. The emperor was shunned as an outcast from Christ, scorned as an enemy of His cross.

Returning to Europe, Frederick banished the Franciscans from the kingdom of Naples, of which he was sovereign, as they were involved in a rebellion. The

leaders, indeed, were certain Franciscan and Dominican professors of the university. A peace was soon negotiated with the Church, but in the enmity from rival interests Gregory, in 1239, renewed the excommunication, and henceforth there was open strife between the Hohenstaufen and the popes, till the House of Swabia fell. The publication of the ban was entrusted to the Franciscans, whose minister-general, Elias of Cortona, had just sought refuge in the imperial Court; and after preaching revolt in Guelf and even in Ghibelline cities, they were again expelled from the kingdom.

Gregory died, and in due time Innocent IV., eager in his spite to humiliate and in his pride to crush the emperor, sent out the friars as tale-bearers. They were commissioned to tell how Frederick neglected the exercises of religion, was a heretic favouring Mohammedanism, and as a follower of the Prophet kept a harem of Saracen women. Effective scandalmongers they proved, and, acting for a pope, were not ashamed. Innocent, however, was not content with mere defamation, and, after renewing the excommunication at the Council of Lyons, in 1245, desired to pose as another Hildebrand and cast down the mighty. The imperial throne was declared vacant by the lips of Dominican emissaries, who spoke as for the vicar of Christ. Then the prelates of the Rhine, assuming the function of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire, named, with his own consent, Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, the king of the Romans. The pope requiring confidential agents, chose them from the Franciscan and Dominican Brothers, who passed from Rome to Germany carrying messages

and money; and desiring preachers to declare the cause of Henry to be the cause of religion, found them among the friars. The papal plot, however, came to nothing when Frederick's son, Conrad, defeated the Landgrave. Though the scheme failed, the wrath of the Bishops of Rome against the House of Swabia seemed as if it could not die; and in 1251, when Frederick was dead, the Franciscans were despatched in one direction and the Dominicans in another to inaugurate a crusade against the prince, who had dared to oppose the "clergy's king."

The political services of the friars were not confined to the campaign against Frederick. Matthew Paris, referring to the year 1236, wrote: "The Franciscans and Dominicans were counsellors and envoys of princes, and even secretaries to our lord the pope, thus securing to themselves too much secular favour"; and again, naming the year 1239, "at that time Dominicans and Franciscans were the counsellors and special envoys of kings; and as formerly those clothed in soft raiment were in kings' houses, so at this time those clothed in vile raiment were in the houses, the halls, and the palaces of princes." In France the Dominicans acted as royal confessors till 1387, when trouble arose on account of their opposition to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The same position they occupied in Spain, till they were supplanted by the Jesuits.

The association of the Orders with the university of Paris forms a remarkable episode in their history, illustrating the masterful and assertive character which roused jealousy, and testifying to the spirit which neglected poverty for position, and forsook humility

for traffic in privilege. Within the first generation of the Brotherhoods the members were at strife with the leaders of the university of Paris, who sought to preserve their independence and to retain the established privileges for the secular clergy. The new favourites of Rome were loaded with many benefits, and in protest the university authorities laboured first to prevent their invasion as teachers, and then to limit their seizure of chairs, asserting for the Church of France, at a later period, that partial autonomy known as Gallicanism, and setting forth the theory of the supremacy of the Catholic Church over popes, which was informally adopted by the councils of the fifteenth century, and widely accepted by thoughtful men in the dawn of the Reformation.

The contest between the mendicants and the university of Paris began in 1229, when, owing to a quarrel with the civic authorities, the university was closed. The Dominicans, led by Roland of Cremona, using the opportunity to their own advantage, not only refused to cease from teaching, but welcomed to their classes students unattached to their Order. When the university was reopened a second Dominican chair was erected, and filled by John of St. Giles, the friend of Grosseteste; while Alexander of Hales, a former master among the seculars, having joined the Minorites, began to teach in the convent of the Brotherhood. The seculars, determined to conserve their privileges, limited the licences to doctors, which carried the right to lecture. In vain, however, they struggled against men with the favour of Rome, and in 1250 a papal bull enjoined the chancellor of the university to bestow the licence upon such friars as he found

qualified. The troubles were not at an end. The mendicants refusing, on the occasion of another riot, to side with the authorities, were excluded from the Society of Masters. Again, they would not take the oath of obedience to the statutes, and were expelled from the university. An appeal to Rome secured the usual help to the friars, but the university in turn proved disobedient to the bull requiring the restoration of the teaching rights. Alexander IV. at last, in 1255, by the bull *Quasi lignum vitæ*, established the mendicants in all the privileges which had been lost, and thus for a time rendered them victorious in their contest with the secular clergy in the university.

In the midst of the appeals to Rome a translation of *The Everlasting Gospel* was published in Paris, and as the Introduction was ascribed to John of Parma, the seculars secured an opportunity of opposing the Franciscans, and criticising the whole system of mendicancy. They demanded the condemnation of the book, but in the controversy into which they entered they were defeated. Their champion, William of St. Amour, having attacked the Preachers and Minorites, irritating them by abusive sermons, was himself in danger of being censured or punished when it was known that he had written or inspired *The Perils of the Last Times*. In this tract the pope was blamed for allowing vagrants to preach and hear confessions, and the flattery and lying in mendicancy were exposed. The friars were described as the precursors of anti-Christ, as the false teachers of the last times, and were likened unto the Pharisees. They were confronted with the precept, "If any man would not work, neither should he eat." "It is a work of perfection," the writer said,

"for Christ's sake to leave all and follow Him in doing that which is good, not by begging, for this is a thing forbidden by the Apostle Paul. He who has renounced all earthly goods in order to strive after perfection, must either support himself by the labour of his own hands or seek his maintenance in a monastery." Another argument, not without force, was used: "Were it a sin to wear, under befitting circumstances, a costly garment, Christ would not have worn that seamless coat, which in relation to His poverty must have been costly enough."

Thomas Aquinas, in the treatise *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, justified the intrusion of the Dominicans into the province of the clergy, and defended them from charges of immorality. He maintained that few of the seculars had studied the scriptures, and that pious men did not exist among them to serve all the parishes, while, as a contrast, the mendicants had destroyed heresy in many places, converted infidels, instructed the ignorant, and turned the careless to repentance.

For the Franciscans, Bonaventura appeared, pointing in *De paupertate Christi* to the example of Christ as a plea for poverty and mendicancy, and assailing in the *Libellus Apologeticus* the seculars for worldliness and vice.

The controversy in defence and attack displayed the divisions of the Catholic Church, revealing the degradation of the secular clergy, and at the same time the tyranny and avarice of the mendicants.

The king of France submitted St. Amour's tract to the pope, and the university, though knowing the writing would be condemned at Rome, sent commis-

sioners, among whom was St. Amour himself, in its defence. *The Everlasting Gospel*, with the Introduction, was the first of the books to be censured, and then came the papal pronouncement on *The Perils of the Last Times*, which was declared to be scandalous and pernicious. St. Amour was silenced, and the seculars lost their champion. The mendicants, on the other hand, were undisturbed by the condemnation of the new gospel of the extreme Franciscans, and lost none of their privileges.

Summing up the results of the quarrel, the author of the *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* says: "Till now there had been no reason whatever for any hostile feeling against the papacy on the part of the university. . . . The alliance between the Holy See and the mendicants sowed the seeds of Gallicanism in the university which was to be its stronghold."

It may have been ambition which prompted the mendicants to intrude themselves into the university of Paris, and certainly they pursued a high-handed policy in securing recognition as teachers. Their action, however, may bear another interpretation. The Aristotelian renascence threatened danger to the dogma, so long as the Church wantonly abused philosophy; but the mendicants had wisdom to see the advantage of pressing philosophy into the service of religion. It was a noble purpose, then, if the mendicants struggled for university recognition, that there might be men to rescue Aristotelianism from the hands of the heretics and employ it in the cause of truth. Yet whatever end in view they had, and it may have been worthy of seekers after wisdom, the Dominicans sought privileges as if they were not consecrated to poverty,

and the Franciscans engaged in strife as if they had never meant to conquer the world by love.

The darkest page in the story of the friars is the record of their licentiousness. Legend tells that one of the Brothers learned through revelation that the devils met in council once a year to devise means for destroying the Franciscan Order, and that three special means were always favoured, "familiarity with women, reception of unprofitable members, and handling of money." There were indeed men, throughout the whole history of the Orders, who, quickly losing their pious enthusiasm, or never having had either piety or enthusiasm, found in mendicancy opportunities for vice, and dishonoured the rank to which they had attained. Bonaventura's many warnings to his Brothers to keep themselves unspotted from sensuality showed the extent and gravity of their offences. Other men were tempted into the Orders by a love of wealth, which condemned their profession. The unprofitable servants were many, and gave to the Brotherhoods that evil reputation, from which the good men who had taken the name and had the mind of Francis or Dominic could not be saved. George Buchanan, in the verse of *Franciscanus*, set forth that those who entered the Order were the law-breaker, the ignoramus, the gambler, the voluptuary, the wretch diseased in mind and body. Erasmus, lashing the mendicants with his scorn, aided the cause of the Reformation. His pictures of the Franciscans shows the base condition to which they had been lowered by lust, greed, ignorance, and pride.

"St. Francis," he wrote in one of his epistles, "came lately to me in a dream and thanked me for chas-

tising them. He was not dressed as they now paint him. His frock was brown, the wool undyed as it came from the sheep; the hood was not peaked, but hung behind to cover the head in bad weather. The cord was a piece of rope from a farmyard; the frock itself did not reach his ankles. He had no fine shoes. His feet were bare. Of the five wounds I saw not a trace. . . . They (the friars) go about begging with forged testimonials, which serve for a passport, and now they have made the notable discovery that a rich man, alarmed for his sins, may buy a share in the merits of the Order if he is buried in the Franciscan habit. They demand admission at private houses, to come and go as they please, invited or uninvited, and the owner dares not refuse. What slavery is this! A man with young sons and daughters, and a wife not past her prime, must take a stranger into his family whether he likes it or not—Spaniard, Italian, French, English, Irish, Scotch, German, or Indian—and the secrets of his household are exposed to all the world. Wise men know that in such a multitude not all are pure. Monks are often sent on their travels because they have misconducted themselves; and, even supposing them sober and chaste, they are made of the same flesh as other men. I have heard many stories of what has happened in such circumstances. They pretend that they have no other means of living. Why should they live at all? What is the use of these mendicant vagabonds? Not many of them teach the gospel, and if they must needs travel, they have houses of their own Order to go to."

The fulness of time was reached for a religious revolution in the sixteenth century, and successors of the men who quickened piety in the thirteenth century,

and widened the bounds of Christianity by heroic missions, were of those who made reformation the one thing needful for the Church. They were not sinners above all men, but professing much were accordingly judged. Many were luxurious who had taken the vow of poverty, unclean when they should have been pure, haughty instead of lowly, and the good deeds of the Orders were overshadowed by the sins. Had Dominic come back to earth he would have chastised his Brothers; and Francis, had he returned, would have found a mission to lead his friars to Christ.

At the Reformation the Orders were not swept away, but before the day of Martin Luther their glory had departed, and within the Roman Church the Jesuits were to take the place of distinction. Ignatius Loyola kept the example of Francis and Dominic before his eyes, and it is recorded that he asked himself: Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus, quid si hoc quod beatus Dominicus?—What if I should do as St. Francis, what if I should do as St. Dominic did?

Protestantism roused the Dominicans to fierceness, and preserved them for many years to notable service in the Church. Their passion for the Inquisition burned again, and Spain under Philip II. licensed their carnage. The Cardinals Caraffa and Burgos, members of the Dominican Order, counselled the pope to establish the Inquisition in Rome, as the one sure means of crushing throughout Italy the spirit of inquiry, which was touching established doctrines. "As St. Peter," said Caraffa, "vanquished the first heresiarchs nowhere but in Rome, so ought Peter's successors to trample down all the heresies of the

world in Rome." The Inquisition was set up and did its work with ruthless vengeance, ending the religious revival, such as it was, which was quickened at the renascence of letters and fostered in some measure by the Protestantism of Germany. Italy was purged of heresy. "Nearly the whole Order of Franciscans," Ranke reports, "were obliged to submit to retractations." The democratic character of the Minorites, illustrated throughout the whole course of their history, led them away from steadfast opinion, and as an Order they had no help to offer the Church in its time of danger.

Pope Paul IV. instituted the Feast of St. Dominic, but there was no tribute to the name of Francis. The old rivalry of the Orders perished in Italy as the Franciscans succumbed to the coercive power of the conquering Dominicans. There was indeed a recrudescence not of the tender pity and winning love of Francis, but of the cruel zeal which made the Franciscan an Inquisitor, in the Minorite who at the Diet of Worms, in 1545, addressed the emperor. The preacher, painting the Lutherans as monsters, turned to Charles, crying: "Now, O emperor!—now is the time to fulfil your duty; enough of trifling, enough of loitering on the way; long ago you should have done the work: God has blessed you with power; He has raised you on high to be the defender of His Church. Up, then! Call out your armies! Smite and destroy the accursed generation; it is a crime to endure longer these venomous wretches crawling in the sunshine, and venting their poison over all things." The voice of the friar was the voice of one crying to an emperor impotent to stem a current of the ages; and passion,

inflamed by taunts of satirists and condemnations of reformers, went out of the Order, when it died in this man.

The dissolution of the monasteries was the death-blow of mendicancy in England. A regenerated spirit, but more probably confirmed apathy, dictated the submission of the Franciscans to the king. They professed to be convinced "that the perfeccion of Christian livyng dothe not consiste in dome ceremonyes, werynge of a grey coatte, disgeasing our selffes aftyr straunge fassions, dokynges, nodyngs, and bekynges, in gurdyng owr selffes wythe a gurdle full of knots, and other like papisticall ceremonyes, wherin we have byn moost pryncipally practysed and misse-lyd in tymes past; but the very tru waye to please God, and to live a tru Christian man, wythe owte all ypocrasie and fayned dissimulacion, is sinceerly declaryd unto us by oure Master Christe, his evangelists and apostoles."

The yielding of the Franciscans to the Inquisition in Italy, and in England to the Reformation, was significant of the weakness of the Order; and when the milder manners and gentler customs of modern centuries rejected the use of violence for the protection of the dogma, the Dominicans were left as men without a purpose. The Brotherhoods, existing to-day and still recognised by the Church, are relics of societies which once were profitable in Christendom. Francis loved his Lord, and therefore served his fellow-men; and the Minorites, led by his spirit, carried Christ to the hearts of the weary and heavy laden. Dominic, eager to vanquish error, laboured as a guardian of the faith, and the Friars-Preachers, filled with his zeal, guarded the dogma as the truth of God. The kingdom

of heaven was seen in the midst of men, while the power of these saints endured. But the advancing years beheld lust joined with love and lies with truth, saw the ruin of high aims, and witnessed a harvest of ignoble traditions. The Franciscan wandered far away from the Poor Penitent of Assisi, and the Dominican from the Master of the Sacred Palace.

LITERATURE

THE following books may be consulted on the subject of this work:—

Speculum perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima auctore fratre Leone. Nunc primum edidit Paul Sabatier. *Collection de documents pour l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge*, tom. i.

Fratris Francisci Bartholi de Assisio tractatus de indulgentia S. Mariæ de Portiuncula. Nunc primum integre edidit Paul Sabatier. Accedunt varia documenta. *Collection d'études et de documents pour l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge*, tom. ii.

Speculum Vitæ S. Francisci et sociorum ejus.

Fioretti di S. Francesco.

The Little Flowers of Saint Francis: English translation of the "Fioretti," by T. W. Arnold.

The Mirror of Perfection: English translation of the "Speculum perfectionis," by Sebastian Evans.

SABATIER, Vie de S. François d'Assise.

—— (English translation, by L. S. Houghton.)

—— Un noveau chapitre de la vie de Saint François d'Assise (*Revue Chrétienne*, 1896).

Sur des Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, écrites en 1216.

(Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Bruxelles, 1849.)

RENAN, Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse.

LACORDAIRE, Vie de Saint Dominique, précédée du mémoire pour le rétablissement en France de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs.

HELYOT, Histoire des ordres monastiques religieux et militaires.

WADDING, Annales Minorum.

Acta Sanctorum.

Analecta Bollandiana.
Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters.
Müller, Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften.
Christen, Leben des heiligen Franciscus von Assisi.
Ozanam, Les poëtes franciscains en Italie au treizième siècle.
Thode, Francis von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien.
Hase, Franz von Assisi. Ein Heiligenbild.
Brewer, Monumenta Franciscana.
Villemain, Histoire de Grégoire vii.
Gebhart, L'Italie Mystique.
Kiezler, Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers.
Kuenen, Hibbert Lecture.
Dante, Commedia: translation by E. H. Plumptre.
Newman, Historical Sketches.
Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.
Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire.
Morison, The Life of Saint Bernard.
Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.
Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.
—— Sacerdotal Celibacy.
—— Auricular Confession and Indulgences.
—— Superstition and Force.
Pearson, The Ethic of Free Thought.
Ruskin, Mornings in Florence.
Arnold, Essays in Criticism.
—— Poems.
Lecky, The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe.
Ranke, The Popes of Rome.
Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of the Christian Art.
Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London (Camden Society).
Vaughan, The Life and Labours of S. Thomas of Aquin.
Hampden, Bampton Lecture.
Hume Brown, George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer.
Knox Little, St. Francis of Assisi: his Times, Life, and Work.

Adderley, Francis, the Little Poor Man of Assisi.
Motley, The Rise of the Dutch Republic.
Drane, The History of St. Dominic.
Hallam, Europe during the Middle Ages.
Froude, Life and Letters of Erasmus.
—— Lectures on the Council of Trent.
Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.
Creighton, History of the Papacy during the Reformation.
—— Early Renaissance in England.
Jameson, Legends of the Monastic Orders.
Fisher, The Medieval Empire.
Oliphant, Francis of Assisi.
Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.
—— Chaucer's Pardoner and the Pope's Pardoners (Chaucer Society).
Maitland, The Dark Ages.
—— Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses.
Maclear, A History of Christian Missions during the Middle Ages.
Baring-Gould, The Lives of the Saints.
Symonds and Gordon, The Story of Perugia (Medieval Towns).
Jessopp, The Coming of the Friars, and other Historical Essays.
Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.
Anthony Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, vol. ii.; Churches and Religious Houses (Oxford Historical Society).
Little, The Greyfriars in Oxford (Oxford Historical Society).
Day, Monastic Institutions: their Origin, Progress, Nature, and Tendency.
Milman, History of Latin Christianity.
Lechler, John Wycliffe and his English Precursors.
Church Histories—Fleury, Mosheim, Neander, Gieseler, Kurtz, Robertson.
Neander, Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas.
Histories of Philosophy—Maurice, Ueberweg, Erdmann, Windelband.
Church, Saint Anselm.
Rémusat, Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry.

Hauréau, Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique.
Aquinas, Opera.
Bonaventura, Opera.
Duns Scotus, Opera.
Francois D'Assise—I. Vie de S. François, par le R. P. Leópold de Chérance. II. S. François apres sa Mort—(*a*) L'Ordre de S. François, par le R. P. Henri de Grèzes; (*b*) Les Fils de S. François, par le T. R. P. Ubald de Chanday; (*c*) S. François dans l'Art, par M——.

INDEX

Abelard, 11, 164, 167, 176.
Abingdon, 127–28.
Abyssinia, 118.
Africa, 101.
Agnellus, 125, 128, 131.
Agnes of Meran, 12.
Aix, 147.
Alans, 119.
Albano, 170.
Albertus Magnus, 117, 125, 172–74, 177, 179, 181, 184, 191.
Albigenses, 86–7, 89, 94, 100, 113, 143.
Alcantarines, 210.
Alexander II., 87.
,, III., 85.
,, IV., 41, 58, 119, 205, 217.
,, VI., 201.
Alexander of Hales, 54, 117, 169, 172, 191, 204, 216.
Alvarus Pelagius, 200.
Amalric of Bène, 168–69.
America, 118.
Ancona, 34.
Angelico, Fra, 135.
Anselm, 166.
Anthony Wood, 122–23.
Antoninus, 135.
Antony of Padua, 66, 106, 120–21, 202.
Apostolici, 31.
Apulia, 37.
Ara Coeli, 131.
Arabic philosophers, 163–64, 168.
Aragon, 12, 93, 147, 158.
Archipelago, 207.
Arezzo, 143.
Aristotelians, 163, 173, 219.
Aristotle, 164, 166, 168–69, 170–74, 177–79, 185–86, 190.
Arles, 147.
Armagh, 132.
Armenians, 119.
Arnold of Brescia, 11, 31, 39, 95.
,, of Citeaux, 87.
Asia, 131.
Assisi, 16, 18, 22, 27, 32–33, 35, 40, 46, 61, 70, 76, 85, 120, 225.
Augustine, 5, 97, 164, 171.
Augustinians, 36, 120, 177.
Avignon, 96, 132, 201.
Avignonet, 156.

Babylon, 38.
Baronius, 166.
Bartholomew Abbizzi, 60, 68.
Bartolomeo, Fra, 135.
Basel, 201.
Baur, 111.
Beatrice, 77.
Belgium, 83.
Benedict XI., 148.
,, St., 22, 77.
Benedictines, 112.
Berengar Taloni, 208.
Bernard of Quintavalle, 25, 28.
,, St., 10–11, 31, 84, 112, 164, 167–68.
Bernardine of Siena, 210.
Bernardone, Pietro, 16–7, 85.

Bethlehem, 75.
Blasio, St., 131.
Bœthius, 165.
Bohemia, 11, 47, 189.
Bollandists, 92.
Bologna, 42, 54, 55, 101–2, 104–5, 108, 118, 121.
Bonaventura, 35, 38, 42, 60, 79, 113, 130, 170–72, 191, 193, 196, 200, 218, 220.
Boniface VIII., 6, 8, 71, 115, 149, 150, 153, 195, 198, 207.
Brewer, Prof., 136.
Brigitta, St., 194.
Brindisi, 34.
Bristol, 137.
Britain, 131.
Buddha, 80.
Bulgarians, 119.
Burgos, Cardinal, 222.

Cæsarius of Spires, 202.
Cahors, 91.
Calaruega, 81, 105.
Calixtus II., 9, 87.
Calmaldolese, 10.
Cambalu, 119.
Canossa, 6.
Canterbury, 123, 126.
Capuchins, 210.
Caraffa, Cardinal, 222.
Carcassonne, 90–1.
Carthusians, 10.
Cassian, 82.
Castelnau, 87–9.
Castille, 97, 107, 158.
Cathari, 86, 89, 90, 119, 122, 139.
Catharine of Siena, 60, 109.
Catherine of Aragon, 63.
Chalcedon, 146.
Charlemain, 2–3, 53, 164.
Charles II. of Spain, 159.
Chaucer, 192.
Cimabue, 75.
Cistercians, 10, 29, 112, 177.
Clairvaux, 112.
Clara, St., 32, 58, 62, 76–7, 103.
Clarissas, 40, 57.
Clement IV., 185.
,, V., 149, 206.
Clement VI., 119, 149, 198–99.
Cluny, Monastery of, 3–4.
Coelestine III., 11, 12, 29.
,, V., 207.
Cologne, 124, 174, 189.
Columba, St., 73.
Columbus, 119.
Conrad of Marburg, 93, 157.
,, of Swabia, 215.
Constance, 201, 210.
Constantine the Great, 9.
Constantinople, 12, 29, 168, 203–4.
Conventuals, 203–4, 206, 209–11.
Corah, 130.
Cordeliers, 210.
Cordes, 155.
Cornhill, 126.
Cremona, 103–4, 157.
Cresentius, 203.
Cumans, 119.

Dalmatia, 147.
Damian, St., 21–2, 40–1, 62.
Damietta, 37.
Dante, 18–9, 40–50, 56, 63, 70–1, 75, 77, 93, 117, 153–54, 170, 177, 200.
David of Dinant, 168–69.
Denmark, 118.
Dominic, St., 8, 27, 49, 51, 60, 64, 77, 81–110, 111–14, 117, 120, 122, 133, 135, 139–40, 146, 151, 160–61, 191–92, 195, 199, 210, 212, 220, 222–24.
Dominicans (Friars-Preachers), 45, 54–5, 59, 63–4, 84, 92, 97–8, 101, 104–5, 114, 117–19, 122–26, 128, 135, 141–44, 146–50, 155–56, 158–59, 161, 172, 175, 177, 187, 189, 191–92, 195–98, 200, 207, 211–12, 214–19, 222–25.
Dominic of Silos, 81.
Dover, 125–26.
Dunbar, 192.
Duns Scotus, 117, 178–80, 181 183, 188, 191.
Durand of Huesca, 29, 96.

Ebbe, St., 128.
Eccelino da Romano, 120.

Eccleston, 25, 129.
Eckhart, 189–91.
Edward III., 123.
Edward's, St., 123.
Egidius, Brother, 34.
Egypt, 101.
Elias of Cortona, 37, 39, 46, 52, 59, 61–2, 121, 195, 201–3, 214.
Elizabeth of Hungary, 56, 157–58.
England, 6, 83, 85–7, 122, 127–30, 132, 137, 142, 193, 203, 209, 224.
English, 116.
Erasmus, 187, 189, 192, 220.
Europe, 56, 120, 213.
Eustorgius, St., 157.
Ethiopians, 119.

Fanjeaux, 90.
Fécamp, 125.
Felix Guzman, 81.
Filippo Paternon, 143.
Fioretti of St. Francis, 25–6, 32, 57, 61, 66, 70, 78, 104.
Florence, 143, 149, 156–57.
France, 41, 79, 82, 86, 89, 92, 96–7, 101, 106, 120, 131, 138, 140, 144, 147, 185, 215–16.
Francis Bernard Delitiosi, 60.
,, St., 6, 8, 16–80, 85, 101–8, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119–21, 126, 129–30, 135, 138, 170, 191–92, 194, 199–206, 209–10, 212, 214, 220, 223–24.
Franciscans (Friars Minor, Minorites, Penitents of Assisi), 23, 25, 28–9, 32, 34, 36, 42–3, 46, 55–9, 64, 70, 84–5, 102, 114, 118–19, 122, 125, 127–31, 136–37, 146–47, 149, 153, 156, 160, 161, 169–70, 172, 178, 185, 187, 189, 193–95, 197, 200, 204–5, 208, 210, 212–18, 220, 222–23, 225.
Franks, 2.
French, 116.
Fraticelli, 209.
Frederick I. (Barbarossa), 2, 9–10, 31.
Frederick II., 11, 50, 141–42, 147, 203, 213, 215.
Frideswyde's, St., 124.

Gall, St., 73.
Geneviève, St., 125.
George Buchanan, 192, 220.
,, St., Church of, 62.
Georgians, 119.
Germans, 116, 157.
Germany, 2, 79, 83, 97, 106, 118, 130, 158, 189, 202, 214, 223.
Gherardo da Borgo San Donnino, 205.
Giacopone di Todi, 70, 79, 111.
Gibbon, 86, 139.
Gilbert de Fraxineto, 122–23.
Giotto, 18, 27, 58, 75–6.
Giovanni di Salerno, 144.
,, Parenti, 202.
Goethe, 72.
Goths, 119.
Greece, 207.
Greeks, 119.
Gregorovius, 131.
Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), 1, 3–8, 10–11, 13, 15, 30, 154, 214.
,, IX. (Ugolini), 36–7, 39, 41, 43, 45, 48, 52, 58, 62, 64, 105, 107, 128, 143–45, 169, 192, 194–95, 201, 203, 209, 213–14.
,, X., 119, 205.
Grosseteste, 124, 128–29, 216.
Guido, 157.
Guillem Arnauld, 155–56.

Hadrian IV., 6, 9–10, 31.
Hallam, 112.
Harnack, 71.
Hase, 59.
Hayti, 119.
Hefele, 141.
Heine, 20.
Henry II. of England, 6.
,, III. (Emperor), 3.
,, IV. (Emperor), 5, 6, 154.
,, V. (Emperor), 8, 9.

Henry the Deacon, 84.
,, of Cologne, 124.
Hermitages, Brethren of, 210.
Hildegard, 193.
Hohenstaufen, 214.
Holland, 80.
Holy Land, 23, 118, 213.
Honorius III., 23, 52, 88, 92, 98–100, 105, 107, 196, 213.
Honorius IV., 198.
Hugh of Vienne, 135.
Humbert de Romanis, 161.
Hungarians, 119.
Hungary, 12, 82, 106, 118.

IBERIANS, 119.
Ignatius Loyola, 222.
Ilchester, 184.
Indians, 119.
Ingeburga, 11–2.
Innocent II., 11, 87.
,, III., 1, 6, 8, 10–5, 27–9, 32, 36, 43, 82–3, 87, 89, 92, 97–8, 107, 139, 142, 154, 161, 168, 176, 196, 213.
,, IV., 48, 131, 147–48, 197, 205–7, 214.
,, V., 135.
,, VIII., 153.
Ireland, 6, 130.
Isabell de Bulbeck, 124.
Isabella of Spain, 158.
Italy, 2, 6, 9, 17, 20, 30, 41, 83, 86, 100, 103, 120, 130, 147, 223–24.

JACOBA, Lady, 58.
Jacobites, Eastern, 118–19.
Jacobus de Voragine, 135.
Jacques de Vitry, 23, 36, 38.
Janus, 76.
Jerome, 58.
,, St., 77.
Jerusalem, 22, 119.
Jessop, 137.
Jesuits, 215, 222.
Jewish-Alexandrian schools, 165.
Jews, 93, 124, 159.
Joanna of Aza, 81.
Joannes de Monte Corvino, 119.
Joachim of Flora, 29, 168, 204–5, 207.
John XXI., 198.
,, XXII., 60, 204, 206–8.
,, Friar, 136.
,, of Capella, 42.
,, of England, 6, 12.
,, of Parma, 204–5, 217.
,, of St. Alban, 125.
,, of St. Giles, 216.
,, of St. Paul, 28, 36.
,, of Vicenza, 121, 135.
,, Scotus Erigina, 165.
Jordan, 92, 101, 118, 124, 172–73.
Julius II., 201.

KAMEL, 38.
Kubla Kahn, 119.
Kuenen, 80.

LACORDAIRE, 93.
Landolf, Count of, 174.
Langland, 192.
Languedoc, 82, 84, 86–7, 93, 97, 139–40, 145, 151.
Laningen, 172.
Laurence, Brother, 125, 136.
,, of Beauvais, 126.
,, St., 123.
Lateran Church, 2.
,, Council II., 87.
,, ,, III., 87.
,, ,, IV., 12–3, 29, 36, 93, 95–7, 143–44, 169, 196.
,, ,, V., 200.
Laura, 71.
Lecky, 142, 160.
Legnano, 9.
Leo X., 195, 200, 210.
,, XIII., 48.
,, Brother, 78–9, 202.
Leon, 12.
Lewis of Bavaria, 204, 208–9.
Limoges, 95.
Liverpool, 137.
Llorente, 140.

Lombards, 2, 37.
Lombardy, 106, 122, 152.
London, 123, 126–27, 137.
Lord Bacon, 136.
,, Lindsay, 58.
Louis, St., 49.
Lucca, 149.
Lucius III., 85.
Lully, Raymond, 177–78.
Luther, 191, 222.
Lutherans, 223.
Lynn, 137.
Lyons, 214.

Machiavelli, 114.
Madrid, 107, 159.
Mahomet, 37.
Manichæans, 86.
Marco Polo, 119.
Marsiglio of Padua, 209.
Masseo, Brother, 32.
Matthew Arnold, 69, 71, 114.
,, Brother, 125.
,, Paris, 192, 215.
Mexico, 118.
Michael of Cesena, 208–9.
Milan, 146–47.
Milton, 64.
Montefeltro, 63.
Montpellier, 82.
Moors, 93.
Motley, 141.
Morocco, 37, 118, 120.
Mosheim, 152.
Murcia, 120.
Muret, 91, 96.
Muscovites, 119.

Naples, 213.
Narbonne, 87–8, 90, 147–48, 155.
Nestorians, 118–19.
Netherlands, 141.
New Granada, 118.
Newman, Cardinal, 120.
Nicholas, St., 126.
,, Convent of, 105.
,, III., 205, 208.
,, IV., 48, 100, 135, 148.
Normandy, 97.
Norwich, 137.
Nubians, 119.

Observantines, 210.
Octavian, 131.
Oliver, 53.
Osma, 82, 105.
Osney, 124.
Otto of Brunswick, 11.
,, the Great, 1–3, 10.
Oxford, 25, 56, 99, 118, 122, 124, 127–30, 131–33, 178, 182, 185.
Ozanam, 70.

Pacifico, Brother, 68.
Padua, 121, 148, 172.
Palencia, 82.
Palestine, 118.
Paris, 99, 101, 117–18, 125, 131, 137, 168–69, 178, 182, 186, 189, 211, 216–17, 219.
Paschal II., 8.
Patarines, 30, 86.
Paul, St., 86, 218.
,, IV., 223.
Paula, 71.
Paulicianism, 86.
Pavia, 172.
Pekin, 119.
Persia, 117.
Peru, 118.
Perugia, 18, 98.
Peter de Brueys, 83–4.
,, de Rupibus, 132.
,, John Olivi, 60, 207.
,, of Tarentaise, 135.
,, St., 200, 222.
,, the Lombard, 167–69.
Petrarch, 71.
Pharisees, 172, 217.
Philip II. 222.
,, Augustus, 11, 12.
,, Brother, 41, 43.
,, of Swabia, 11.
,, the Fair, 142.
Pica, 16.
Piero da Verna, 156–57.
Pierre Cella, 91.
Pietro di Catana, 46.
Pisa, 60, 143.

Pius II., 210.
Plato, 160, 164–65, 171.
Platonism, 165, 190.
,, Neo-, 165, 168, 190.
Poland, 12, 118.
Poor Catholics, 29, 96.
Porphyry, 165.
Portiuncula (St. Mary of the Angels), 22–4, 26, 28, 33, 40, 61, 77, 195.
Portugal, 12, 130.
Prescott, 141.
Prouille, 88, 93, 97–8, 102, 125.
Provence, 16, 17, 106.
Prussians, 100.
Puritans, 85.
Pyrenees, 82.

Quentin, St., Dean of, 125.

Raimund di Pennaforti, 119.
Ranke, 223.
Raoul, 87.
Raphael, 75.
Raspe, Henry, 214–15.
Ravenna, 49.
Raymond d'Alfaro, 156.
,, Lully, 177–78.
,, of Toulouse, 89, 142.
Regensburg, 173.
Reginald, Brother, 102.
Renan, 59, 64, 74, 79.
Rhine, 214.
Richard of Devon, 127.
,, of Ingworth, 126–27.
Rieti, 60–1.
Rivo Torto, 32–3.
Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, 124.
Roger Bacon, 117, 184–86, 191.
Roland, 53.
,, of Cremona, 216.
Romagnuolo, 106.
Romans, 131.
Rome, 2, 5, 13, 27–9, 31, 34, 42, 64, 82–4, 97–8, 103, 115, 131, 139–42, 146–47, 149, 150, 158–59, 169, 185, 189, 194–96, 200–1, 214, 216–17, 222–23.
Ruggieri Calcagni, 146, 157.
Ruskin, 68, 74.
Russians, 119.

Sabatier, 73.
Sabina, St., 99, 108.
Sachsenhausen, 208.
Salerno, 7.
Saracens, 119.
Savelli, 99.
Savona, 6.
Savonarola, 136.
Saxony, 189.
Scholastica, 77.
Sciffi, 40.
Scotists, 187.
Scotland, 130.
Segovia, 101, 106.
Sens, 146.
Seville, 158.
Shakespere, 136.
Shrewsbury, 137.
Sicily, 37, 71.
Siena, 130.
Silvester II., 166, 186.
,, Brother, 32.
Simon de Montfort, 87, 91–2, 94, 140.
Sir David Lindsay, 192.
,, Launfal, 20.
Sixtus IV., 60, 117, 158, 170.
,, V., 92, 157.
,, St., 99.
Socrates, 181.
Spain, 41, 82, 93, 99, 101, 105–6, 130, 140, 159–60, 215, 222.
Spaniards, 116.
Speculum Vitæ, 130.
Spoleto, 18–9.
Stephen Langton, 122–23.
St. James, Convent of, 125.
Strasburg, 189.
Surrey, 182.
Sutri, 3.
Swabia, 172, 207, 214–15.
Syria, 37.

Tartars, 119.
Tauler, 191.
Tertiaries, 47–50.
Teutons, 6.
Thode, 79.

Thomas Aquinas, 92, 117, 125, 135, 160, 164, 172, 174–81, 187–88, 191, 196, 200–1, 204, 218.
,, of Celano, 33, 46, 70.
,, of Eccleston, 125.
Thomists, 177, 187.
Three Companions, 116.
Thuringia, 189, 214.
Titian, 157.
Torquemada, 158–59, 201.
Toulouse, 88, 91, 94, 99, 102, 142, 144, 155, 178.
Tours, 87.
Trivettus, 123.
Troubadours, 17–8, 65, 68, 72.
Tunis, 120.
Turks, 119.
Tuscany, 37, 56, 146, 152.

Ubertino of Casale, 207.
Umbria, 16, 28, 34, 71.
Urban II., 8, 10.

Vallombrosians, 10.
Venice, 104, 118.
Verna, 56.
Verona, 85, 122.
Vicenza, 149.
Vienne, 149.

Wadding, 29, 178.
Waldenses, 28, 32, 84–5, 87, 95–6, 150.
Waldo, 85.
Walter of Brienne, 18.
,, of St. Victor, 168.
Wiclif, 63, 134, 209.
William of Occam, 181–84, 186 191, 204, 208, 219.
,, of St. Amour, 174, 217–19.
Worms, 9, 223.

York, 137.

Zichori, 119.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS.

EDITED BY

OLIPHANT SMEATON.

MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have much pleasure in announcing an important new Series, under the title of

"THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS."

The Volumes composing it will constitute, when their issue is complete, a valuable conspectus of the origin and progress of the most prominent movements that have taken place in theology, philosophy, and the history of intellectual development from Buddha to the present day.

Each Volume will record the initiation and trace the Evolution of some particular phase of human thought and culture. The various subjects have in every case been assigned to writers who have made a special study of them. The Publishers, therefore, confidently expect that the successive Volumes will present the latest and most reliable information on the topics whereon they treat, and that the Series as a whole will be found to afford a valuable guide to the consecutive study of the leading Epochs in the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of humanity.

For List of Volumes see following pages.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS.

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM.
The First Bursting of the Fetters of Ignorance and Superstition. By ARTHUR LILLIE, M.A., London. [*Now ready.*

SOCRATES.
The Moral Awakening of the Western World. By Rev. J. T. FORBES, M.A., Edinburgh.

PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.
A Contrast and Appreciation. By Professor D. G. RITCHIE, M.A., University of St. Andrews.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND THE LATER STOICS.
The Last and the Greatest Age of Stoicism. By F. W. BUSSELL, D.D., Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

ORIGEN AND GREEK PATRISTIC THEOLOGY.
By Rev. W. FAIRWEATHER, M.A.

AUGUSTINE AND LATIN PATRISTIC THEOLOGY.
By Professor B. B. WARFIELD, D.D., Princeton.

MAHOMET AND MAHOMETANISM.
By P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE, M.A.(Oxon.).

ANSELM AND *CUR DEUS HOMO.*
By Rev. A. C. WELCH, B.D.

FRANCIS AND DOMINIC AND THE MENDICANT ORDERS.
By Professor J. HERKLESS, D.D., University of St. Andrews. [*Now ready.*

SCOTUS ERIGENA AND HIS EPOCH.
By R. LATTA, Ph.D., D.Sc., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen.

WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS.
By Rev. J. C. CARRICK, B.D.

THE MEDICI AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.
By OLIPHANT SMEATON, M.A., Edinburgh.

THE TWO BACONS AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE.
Showing how ROGER BACON prepared the way for FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM. By Rev. W. J. COUPER, M.A.

SAVONAROLA.
By G. M'HARDY, D.D.

[*Continued on next page.*

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS—CONTINUED.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION.
By Professor T. M. LINDSAY, D.D., U.F.C. College, Glasgow.
[*Now ready.*

CRANMER AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.
By A. D. INNES, M.A.(Oxon.), London. [*Now ready.*

CALVIN AND THE REFORMED THEOLOGY.
By Principal SALMOND, D.D., U.F.C. College, Aberdeen.

PASCAL AND THE PORT ROYALISTS.
By Professor W. CLARK, LL.D., D.C.L., Trinity College, Toronto.

DESCARTES, SPINOZA, AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHY.
By Professor J. IVERACH, D.D., U.F.C. College, Aberdeen.

WILLIAM HERSCHEL AND HIS WORK.
By JAMES SIME, M.A., F.R.S.E. [*Now ready.*

WESLEY AND METHODISM.
By F. J. SNELL, M.A.(Oxon.). [*Now ready.*

LESSING AND THE NEW HUMANISM.
Including Baumgarten and the Science of Æsthetics. By Rev. A. P. DAVIDSON, M.A.

HUME AND HIS INFLUENCE ON PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.
By Professor J. ORR, D.D., Glasgow.

ROUSSEAU AND NATURALISM IN LIFE AND THOUGHT.
By Professor W. H. HUDSON, M.A., Leland Stanford Junior University, California.

KANT AND HIS PHILOSOPHICAL REVOLUTION.
By Professor R. M. WENLEY, D.Sc., Ph.D., University of Michigan.

SCHLEIERMACHER AND THE REJUVENESCENCE OF THEOLOGY.
By Professor A. MARTIN, D.D., New College, Edinburgh.

HEGEL AND HEGELIANISM.
By Professor R. MACKINTOSH, D.D., Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.

NEWMAN AND HIS INFLUENCE.
By C. SAROLEA, Ph.D., Litt. Doc., University of Edinburgh.

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

DATE DUE

GAYLORD			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

BX2462
.H4 Herkless 5952

Francis and Dominic and
the mendicant orders

DATE

BX2462
.H4 Herkless 5952

Francis and Dominic and
the mendicant orders

LIBRARY
LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY
Harrogate Tennessee 37752

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIV. LIBRARY
3 5040 80822 0003